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THE YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC OF 1888 IN JACKSONVILLE

By MARGARET C. FAIRLIE

The first of the four thousand six hundred fifty-six cases of yellow fever recorded in Jacksonville in the summer and fall of 1888 was that of R. D. McCormick who had lately come from Tampa and who was reported ill on July 28. Though this caused some alarm, the assurance of the Board of Health that it was a sporadic case seemed to calm all fears.

But on August 8 four other cases were reported, with five on the following day, and three on the next, when the first of the four hundred twenty-seven deaths and the announcement of the Board that "the fever is prevalent and tending to assume an epidemic form" brought on a panic, and hundreds who could get away fled at the first moment possible.¹

Note.-This account of the epidemic is based mainly on *Report of Jacksonville Auxiliary Sanitary Association* (hereafter as *Report*), also on a book of newspaper clippings in the library of the Florida State Board of Health (for which grateful acknowledgment is made to Mrs. Elizabeth Bohnenberger, librarian), also on files of the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, the Jacksonville *Metropolis*, and the Savannah *Morning News*, and partly on private letters.

In the *Report* will be found the names of the first and the succeeding officers of the Association, the members of its executive committee and its numerous other committees, with the names of city officials and others active in the enormous work of carrying a city through such an infliction. These are all intentionally omitted here, nor is much told herein of the widespread and distressing suffering. The facts tell of this and of the heroism of those who carried on until many had given their lives. The one exception is in naming Col. J. J. Daniel, first president of the association, who gave his whole time to its direction until he was stricken and died at the height of the epidemic. The Daniel Memorial Orphanage is his monument. *Ed.*

1. *Report* p. 11. A report of Surgeon-general Hamilton, U. S. Medical Hospital Service, in *Medical News* Nov. 10, 1888, traces the transmission of yellow fever in 1887-1888 from Havana, Cuba, to Key West, and from there to Tampa and other places where it was spreading in 1887. Dr. Guiteras of the Marine Hospital Service was of the opinion that two of thirty cases of so called "society" fever reported in Jacksonville in Feb. 1888 had a well-marked clinical history of yellow fever. Dr. Potts is said to have treated several cases in June, and other isolated cases are said to have been reported that month.

On the same day, August 10, an association was organized to assist the civic authorities, and next day the organization was completed of the Jacksonville Auxiliary Sanitary Association, which carried the greater part of the burden throughout the epidemic. Without legal authority and recognizing its auxiliary character to the official agencies with which it maintained cordial relations, it constituted an effective coordinating body.² Its membership reached 282, of whom 67 were stricken and 16 died.

On Sunday, August 12, the work of sanitation was commenced. Dr. D. Echemendia, a well-known Cuban, was appointed to direct disinfection. A large force of men were put to work in various parts of the city and huge fires of pine and tar were kindled at night "to purify the air." To test the theory that concussion would kill the microbes, fifty rounds of ammunition were fired by Wilson's battery of militia. Infected houses were marked by yellow flags. Tree trunks, hydrants, posts and curbs were covered with a coating of lime and disinfectant. Street cars were fumigated daily and all streets were sprayed with a solution of bichloride of mercury by means of the city watering carts.³

The fever spread rapidly and by August 29th 130 cases had been reported with 20 deaths.⁴

As early as August 18, the Auxiliary Association, without solicitation, had received \$3,480 and an offer of 1000 lbs. of beef. The Board of Public Works voted \$500 to clean and flush all sewers; and the City Council granted \$2000 to the Association for relief, but this was later returned. The County Commissioners made available \$3000 for the use of the Association. Letters were sent to all out-of-

2. *Report* 13.

3. *Ibid.* 16-18.

4. *Times-Union* daily reports *passim*.

town citizens whose addresses were known inviting contributions, and these met with a generous "response."

Within four days the Benevolent Association of Savannah offered to remit \$1000, and other offers came from outside, but as yet there was not need for outside aid.

A committee on sanitary police was organized by the Association, as well as a committee to deal with claims for property destroyed.⁵

The Sand-Hills hospital was taken over, a forty foot pavillion was erected, fitted up with beds, and several other buildings were added later; while the Board of Health assumed control of St. Lukes hospital in East Jacksonville.

With the first announced case, most of Florida as well as many cities of the South and some of the North established quarantines which caused delay and hardships on those leaving Jacksonville. Exceptions were Atlanta, Macon, Hendersonville, (North Carolina) and Mont Eagle (Tennessee) which were willing to receive refugees. The United States early set up a fumigation station at Waycross (Georgia) for mail and baggage, and later a fumigation station was established at La Villa Junction. A detention camp was established at Boulogne near the St. Mary's river, called Camp Perry, from which passengers might proceed after ten days. Waycross would not allow refugees to pass through the town even in locked cars running at high speed. On September 11th a government train with free transportation to Hendersonville, N. C. took 240 passengers.

Late in August a conference on quarantine regulations was held at Orange Park with representatives from South Florida counties and other places

5. *Report 21.*

where provisions for the movement of passengers to the north and west and for through and local freight under certain restrictions were agreed upon, but these were disallowed by some counties.⁶

An auxiliary bureau of colored citizens was organized in August, which was of substantial assistance to the Association;⁷ and relief committees of Jacksonville citizens and other Floridians were formed in New York City, Atlanta, and Cincinnati.

On account of the closing of the hotels and restaurants, many found it difficult to secure proper meals, so eating clubs were formed. For a time fresh vegetables were scarce, but as it was believed that the night air was responsible for the spread of the fever, before long farmers were allowed to bring in their produce during the day.

During the next month the epidemic spread rapidly and reached its peak in the week of September 19-25 when 944 new cases were reported, more than twice the number which had appeared in the previous week. There were 70 deaths during those seven days; with 163 new cases on the 23rd, and 20 deaths on the 19th.⁸

Not until September 5 did the Association issue a public appeal for financial aid. Generous contributions were promptly sent and continued until the end of the epidemic, when a total of \$331,927.63 in cash and \$13,467.50 in supplies had been received. In addition to this amount the United States Marine Hospital Service reimbursed the Association to the amount of \$165,107.77.

Contributions were received from forty-two states, and from Ontario, from London (England) and Darmstadt (Germany). The larger contributors were: New York \$130,477 ; Pennsylvania

6. *Ibid.* 27, 31, 37.

7. *Times-Union* Aug. 30.

8. *Ibid.* daily reports.

\$23,872 ; Massachusetts \$18,526 ; Florida \$16,019 (of this, \$10,762 was from citizens of Jacksonville) ; Georgia \$14,925. The largest individual contribution was \$12,000 from an unknown donor in New York. It was learned the next year that this was from Levi P. Morton who was a candidate for vice-president of the United States at the time the gift was made.⁹

These funds enabled the Association to undertake new services to meet the increasing needs of the situation, the most pressing of which was for nurses and physicians ; so a committee on nurses and medical attention was provided. On September 8th, 30 nurses arrived and these were followed by others from time to time. The total number enrolled was 837, of whom 397 were white and 440 colored. About 200 were local nurses and about two-thirds were females. At one time there were 594 nurses on duty. In addition to these were the hospital nurses not on the government pay roll and others employed by individuals and benevolent societies.

In spite of all efforts to secure only acclimated and experienced nurses, many were attacked by the fever and others were found incompetent. Some of them were arrested for disorderly conduct and drunkenness and one group of nurses from New York gave rise to a prolonged controversy as to their payment.

Additional physicians were needed also. Dr. J. Y. Porter of Key West, who had been invited to come to Jacksonville by the Knights and Legion of Honor, was placed in charge of governmental relief measures by Surgeon-general Hamilton. Sixteen other physicians from other cities were added to the

9. *Report* 40,48. On October 10 an unusual spelling-bee was held in the Opera House of Atlanta, given for the benefit of Jacksonville yellow fever sufferers. The house was filled to capacity and \$700 was cleared.

Medical Bureau during September in addition to eleven resident physicians.¹⁰

While several thousand residents had left the city there were many more who could not or would not leave. In order to induce as many of these to get away as possible, camps of refuge were established. The first, known as Camp Howard, on the borders of Moncrief creek, did not become popular and at no time had a population of over fifty persons. According to a census taken early in September there were 13,757 people still in Jacksonville, including 9812 colored. Of this number, 1491 were willing to leave, 297 would stay in camp, 1644 refused to state what they would do and 10,375 refused to go out of the city. So the United States government authorized the construction of 200 houses. A site was selected, Camp Mitchell, seven miles west of the city and the erection of small homes begun ; but this was not ready for occupancy until October. A total of 410 persons were cared for there with very little sickness during the entire period and only one death. The camp was closed on December 15th, the date when refugees were allowed to return to Jacksonville.¹¹

The committee on sanitation not only had charge of the sanitary work paid for by the government, but also other public works undertaken as a source of employment and relief, and the furnishing of

10. *Report* 138. On Sept. 27 there was published by the Board of Health an emergency treatment of yellow fever patients as follows : Give a hot mustard footbath with the patient in a chair under a blanket for fifteen minutes. After drying under the blanket place the patient in bed with hot water bottles. Give five grains of calomel to adults and one-half this amount to a child. After three or four hours give a dose of castor oil or salts, also warm drinks of orange leaf tea. After the medicine acts, give one-half teaspoonful of nitre in cool water every two hours, and an enema if necessary. Give three tablespoonfuls of beef or chicken broth or gruel and discourage vomiting. *Times-Union* Sept. 27.

11. *Report* 193.

information as a means of preventing those employed from also obtaining relief.

On September 2 the Monday edition of the *Times-Union* was suspended as only the editor and an assistant were on duty and substitutes could not be found for the overworked printers. On the 22nd the publication of the *Metropolis*, the evening paper, was entirely suspended until the coming of frost, as only one member of a force of 21 was well.¹²

On September 7th, yellow fever was reported at Macclenny, on the 17th at Gainesville, and by the 27th at Fernandina and Sanderson. Nurses, physicians, and supplies were sent to each. Assistance was also being sent to Mayport and Pablo Beach and other more distant places. Some question was raised as to how far the Jacksonville Association was warranted in using its reserves for this purpose, but the responsibility was accepted. The total relief to other communities was \$39,077. The largest amount went to Fernandina (\$23,718) and smaller amounts to Macclenny, Sanderson, Gainesville, Enterprise, Mayport and Pablo.

Many difficulties and problems were met by the Association. As general business was at a standstill, one of these was employment of the idle—especially negroes. This was overcome by so-called Public Improvement Works organized and carried out by the Association. A correspondent of the *Savannah Morning News* writes :¹³

“These public improvements are not only necessary and useful to Jacksonville, but also provide employment for a large number of men who otherwise would be idle and dependent on the relief commissaries for sustenance.

12. *Times-Union* Sept. 22.

13. *Savannah Morning News* Oct. 17.

"The most important work on hand is the widening, grading and shelling of the Evergreen Cemetery road. This public way has long been in a dreadful condition and is daily growing worse from constant use. In some places it is little more than a path. It runs through swamps and mud and over rickety bridges with almost impassable approaches, endangering the lives of those who are obliged to travel to the cemetery. 380 men are now employed under a competent foreman on this project. A thick strata of boughs and turf is laid down to support the oyster shells which form the final layer. It runs for nearly ten miles around the city. From North Pine Street [now Main] it turns east, going through a beautiful wooded section of country then winding along the river front until East Jacksonville is reached when it again enters the city proper. The Cemetery is passed about a mile east of Pine Street.

"Duval Street is also being greatly improved by the labor of 1600 men who earn a pay-roll of \$8000.00 weekly. Other gangs of men are being used on country roads and all are under the direction of the Sanitary Committee of the Auxiliary Sanitary Association."

Another problem concerned nine volunteer nurses and three other persons sent from New York at the expense of a contributor there. Though their general expenses after reaching Jacksonville were paid by the Association, being volunteers they were not paid the regular \$3 per day paid nurses from funds of the U. S. government, which they soon claimed. Being unacclimated they were of little help, and sooner or later all but two were stricken. The vexed question came up at meeting after meeting of the executive committee consuming the time and effort of the overworked members. At length all were sent back to New York by the Association.¹⁴

14. *Report* 146-148. *Times-Union* Sept. 18.

The same correspondent writes of the distribution of supplies :-

"The immense warehouse of the Clyde Steamship Co. is the storehouse for supplies of provisions and merchandise used for the relief of the sick and destitute. Laborers were busy unloading a carload of potatoes from Iowa shipped in bulk. They were putting them in barrels and sacks for distribution.

"All supplies for the various commissaries are distributed here on requisitions signed and approved. The present stock on hand is valued at probably \$12,000.00, but at one time there had been \$30,000.00 worth of stock in the storehouse. Special foods and necessities are also supplied from this storehouse for the use of hospitals and camps, such as cots, mattresses, sheets, pillows, blankets, etc. Large donations of provisions have been received from all over the country but these contributions have met only about one tenth of the demand and the rest had to be purchased. Luxuries and delicacies for the sick are only supplied on a physician's order and he is cautioned to see that no extra space is left above his name because additions have frequently been made to original orders by unscrupulous persons. All the substantials-such as sugar, coffee, flour, grits, meal, potatoes and bacon are always on hand. A clerical force of three clerks and six laborers handle the work of this department which is conducted in an efficient and business-like manner.

"Pour correspondent today received a consignment of a carload of apples from the good people of Winstead, Connecticut. Hearing that they would be beneficial to convalescents, they contributed 75 barrels of the finest applies. A baked apple is one

of the few things a fever patient can enjoy during convalescence." ¹⁵

As would, be expected, the regular distribution of free rations created its problems. Dr. Kenworthy, the city health officer, affirmed "Free rations have ruined our colored folk. Yesterday I sent a notice to one hundred of them that I needed workers for sanitary duty and only one man responded. He told me that he came by mistake, and refused to work."

The editor of the Jacksonville *Metropolis* received a letter stating that the writer was not satisfied with the reduced wages being paid workers, nor with the diminishing number then being employed, that 1500 men had banded themselves together and were threatening to break into the stores and help themselves. The *Metropolis* continues: "The police are now fully prepared for such an emergency and no serious action is expected. The retrenchment of the funds now on hand is necessary in order to provide for those in need until frost appears."

The disinfection and destruction of bedding, clothing and other property was a difficulty. It was decided that mattresses, pillows, and quilts were to be destroyed, and other bedding and carpets might be baked or boiled. At length the government agreed to pay for all bedding destroyed.

During October the epidemic noticeably declined. In the first week there were 496 new cases and 37 deaths, in the last week 255 new cases and 20 deaths. ¹⁶ A number of these were officers and active members of the Association.

The Sand Hills hospital was closed on October 31. But the waning of the epidemic brought its prob-

15. Savannah *Morning News* Oct. 27. "Red-headed are exempt from yellow fever," remarked a prominent doctor at the medical bureau today. "I have taken care of 406 cases and not one was a red-head." Other physicians claimed that they also had had no red-headed patients.

16. Savannah *Morning News*. Oct. 17.

lems, one of which was that quarantine made it difficult for nurses to return to their homes.¹⁷ On October 29 it was reported that only 7,523 persons were given relief during the preceding week compared with 11,000 during the first week of that month.

Measures were now taken to prevent refugees returning before the danger of infection was passed. The force of guards established in August had been increased from about 100 to a maximum of 433 early in October, but now a cordon of mounted guards was placed around the city, and no one was allowed to enter except farmers with produce to sell and others holding permits from Dr. Porter.¹⁸

A resolution had been introduced in Congress by Senator Call which passed and was approved by President Cleveland for an investigation of the epidemic. This provided for a commission of physicians and scientists to visit Jacksonville and gather data on which to base plans for prevention and treatment in the future. This was followed by an act providing for the appointment of a yellow fever commission to investigate the sanitary condition of infected foreign localities, and authorizing the President to negotiate for the cooperation of Mexico and Spain.

Late in October Dr. Paul Gieber, said to have been sent by the French government to investigate the epidemic, arrived in Jacksonville, and took up his residence at the Sand Hills hospital.¹⁹

During November the new cases decreased gradually but irregularly, for with warm and wet weather they increased. On November 6 and 7 there were 75 new cases, and on the 9th there were 9 deaths. On the 16th there were 15 new cases with 22 on the

17. Board of Health library Oct. 10.

18. *Ibid.* Oct. 22.

19. Bd. of Health lib. Oct. 30.

20th ; but no new cases were reported on November 25. During that night the thermometer registered 32°, and from this date only 5 deaths were reported, 3 on December 1, and one each on the 3rd and 5th. On December 1, 5 new cases were reported, but on the 12th there had been no new cases for a week.

No one was allowed to return until the fumigating was completed. For that work 150 men and sixty wagons were required.

The greatest number hired by the sanitation committee was 2039 on October 27. The number of commissaries maintained by the relief committee was reduced from a maximum of five in October to one in mid-November, but this one remained open for five weeks longer. To October 27, 79,998 rations had been issued, and the total was increased to 196,538 for the period of the epidemic.²⁰

Thanksgiving services were held on that day in various Jacksonville churches.

On account of continued warm weather after the freezing temperature of November 25, the Board of Health announced that refugees would not be allowed to return until December 15, but they could come in any time without remaining at night. On that day many hundreds returned home; coming by boats, trains, teams, private conveyances as well as on foot, and extra trains were run on all the railroads. The reopening of residences and stores quickly renewed business activity, and the greetings between the shut-outs and shut-ins were sincere and hearty.

A meeting was held on January 3 by the Board of Trade whose rooms were draped, as a memorial to members who had died. By April 2nd the business of the Association was liquidated and a report and financial statement from the executive commit-

20. *Report* 116.

tee was presented. This included resolutions of appreciation and gratitude to the President of the United States and his-cabinet; the members of Congress, municipal authorities ; the press ; churches ; schools ; charitable, religious and benevolent associations ; transportation, express and telegraph companies; the voluntary physicians and nurses ; the women of America; cities and towns which received refugees; and to other individuals for their money, sympathy, pity, and love.²¹

The financial statement follows :-

EXPENDITURES

Executive	\$ 7,358.06
Sanitation and sanitary police	136,837.29
Nurses and medical attention	154,093.14
Relief	87,575.23
Claims (property destroyed)	9,259.44
Transportation	4,948.60
St. Lukes hospital	7,559.66
Sand-hills hospital	9,360.48
Camp Mitchell	7,619.72
City of Jacksonville	5,000.00
Duval county and other communities.....	46,379.87
Frankie Schumacher hospital	1,000.00
St. Mary's orphanage	1,000.00
Home for the Friendless	1,000.00
Contingent accounts	4,500.00
Miscellaneous	2,585.57
<hr/>	
Total	\$486,077.06
Paid by the U. S. Government	175,567.94
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	\$310,509.12
Donations and dues of members (\$282)....	345,722.13
<hr/>	
Net assets	\$ 35,213.01

21. *Ibid.* 87-89.

After the great fire of 1901 in Jacksonville this surplus was used in rehabilitation work for the benefit of needy fire sufferers.

A weekly summary of new cases and deaths follows :-

July	28	1	0
Aug.	8- 14	24	4
	15- 21	15	5
	22- 28	69	12
	29-S. 4	187	20
Sept.	5- 11	340	53
	12- 18	411	64
	19- 25	944	70
	26-O. 2	832	45
Oct.	3- 9	496	37
	10- 16	308	23
	17- 23	245	16
	24- 30	255	20
	31-N. 7	264	16
Nov.	8- 20	252	32
	21-D. 5	13	10
		4656	427

These numbers are taken from day-to-day reports printed in the *Times-Union*, the *Savannah Morning News*, and occasional figures in the chronological summary of the Association, and do not always agree. The death statistics are based on the detailed table in the Association Report, which includes nine more than are listed in the daily reports. The last death is number 430, but there are only 427 names in the list.²²

²². Report. Appendix 46-54.

COLONIAL PENSACOLA : THE BRITISH PERIOD

BY CLINTON N. HOWARD

Part I *

Pensacola came to Great Britain as a part of the cessions of Spain at the close of the Seven Years war.¹ The treaty of Paris which closed that war and incorporated the cession of Pensacola and all of Florida in its provisions was a turning point in the history of the British empire and of North America. The counterpart of the cession of Florida to Britain and the return of Havana to Spain was the cession of eastern Louisiana by France to Britain; and the relative value of the interior of the North American continent as compared with the Caribbean, "the American Mediterranean," is seen in the offer of France to cede western as well as eastern Louisiana to Britain if the latter power would return Havana to Spain.²

The fact, however, that West Florida, when it was set up as a colony lay west of the Apalachian Mountains proved more important in the next hundred years than that Pensacola and Mobile were British and later American ports of entry and exit into the gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean. While the gulf and Caribbean declined in importance for various

*This series of three papers is in continuation of Professor Howard's *The Military Occupation of British West Florida, 1763*, and his *Governor Johnstone in West Florida*, published in this *Quarterly*, the issues of January and April 1939. Part II will cover the administrations of Lieut. Gov. Brown, Gov. Eliot, and Lieut. Gov. Durnford, 1767-1770. Part III will be on Gov. Chester's administration, 1770-1781.

1. " . . . and deliver up the Province of Florida . . . and the exile place of St. Miguel de Pensacola." Copy of translation of an order from the Court of Spain to the Governor of Pensacola, *P.R.O., C.O.* 117 : 1, p. 273.
2. William R. Shepherd, "The Cession of Louisiana to Spain, 1763," *Political Science Quarterly*, XIX, No. 4 (1904), 448-449.

reasons between 1763 and 1833 the trans-Appalachian frontier and the trans-Mississippi west developed in importance and increasingly attracted British and European capital. The American westward movement was one of the problems of the imperial government on the eve of the revolution and has been rightly counted as one of the factors in the beginning of that revolution.³ Its influence has caused the United States largely to ignore the Latin American countries until recently when the United States became a creditor nation seeking investments abroad. Since the World War there has been a revival of interest in the United States in the countries to the south, an interest which may conceivably hold for Pensacola something of the naval and mercantile importance which was anticipated for it in 1763.

In that year Pensacola was an old town. Its site, however, was only nine years old.⁴ During the year 1763 Pensacola became British.⁵ Elias Durnford, surveyor general for the province of West Florida, was directed by the governor and council to lay out the plan. Peter Joseph Hamilton reproduces a plan of the town which is dated 1765, which he assigns to Durnford.⁶ Another plan, unsigned, dated 1766, is in the Library of Congress.⁷ It was probably drawn by Durnford or one of his subordinates. Doubtless there are other early plans and drafts in existence.

3. Clarence W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2 vols., Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1917.

4. Richard L. Campbell, "Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida," Cleveland, Ohio, 1892, 53.

5. Clinton N. Howard, "The Military Occupation of British West Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII, No. 3, 184-185.

6. *Colonial Mobile*, second edition, New York, 1910, facing p. 258. This edition is meant hereafter.

7. Woodbury Lowery, *The Lowery Collection, A Description of Maps of the Spanish possessions within the present limits of the United States, 1502-1820*. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912.

The first British reports on Pensacola and the surrounding country were sent to England by the officers in charge of the military occupation.⁸ The town was a poor excuse for a settlement. It had been little more than a border post to guard against French encroachments from New Orleans and Mobile and, more recently, British incursions from Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia. Aside from this it had largely been used by the Spanish as a penal station for exiles from New Spain. The actual penal settlement was on Santa Rosa island.⁹ There was apparently no mission at Pensacola and, possibly because of this, not much was accomplished in the Europeanization of the Indians.¹⁰ The only Indians who had been effectively Christianized as a group were the smaller tribe of the Yamasee.¹¹ They sold their lands to an English speculator and retired with the Spanish troops to New Spain when the British troops occupied Pensacola.¹² The greater tribes were reserved, if not unfriendly, in their attitude.¹³

8. Prevost's report, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 1763-66, *English Dominion*, Ed. Dunbar Rowland, Volume I, Nashville, Tenn., Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1911, pp. 136-137; "Journal of an Officer's [Lord Adam Gordon's] Travels in America and the West Indies, 1764-65," in *Travels in the American Colonies*, Ed. Newton D. Mereness, New York, 1916; *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775*, Ed. Clarence Edwin Carter, 2 volumes, Yale Univ. Press, 1931-34; *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 582, 632; and Colonel James Robertson's report of March 8, 1763. Unfortunately this is available in full only in the Public Record Office. Captain Philip Pittman, "The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi." London, 1770. (reprinted) Cleveland, Ohio, 1906. 24-26.
9. Wilbur H. Siebert, "How the Spaniards Evacuated Pensacola in 1763," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XI, No. 2, 48-57.
10. *Ibid.*; *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 632.
11. Siebert, *op. cit.*
12. *Ibid.*; *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 632
13. Prevost's report, September 7, 1763, and Forbes's report, January 29, 1764, *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 582; *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 136-7.

The French in Louisiana had made much better progress.¹⁴

The land was almost completely undeveloped.¹⁵ The British records show some score of Spanish plantations in the back country around Pensacola, but practically nothing is known of their owners or their state of development. Colonel Prevost, who was commandant at Pensacola, was not enthusiastic in his views of the land as a possible colony, but in his reports he concealed his reservations for the present in an optimism for the future. The buildings of Pensacola, he wrote, were in a state of ruin and decay (they were only nine years old at most !) and the forests came up to the edge of the town. The soil near the town was sandy but capable of producing good gardens. The Spaniards, he thought, had been too lazy to develop the country. Farther inland, he noted, the soil was rich. There tropical West Indian products could be grown and naval stores, pitch, tar, resin and pine wood were to be had in quantities. The bay was full of good fish, the land was good and capable of any improvement, thought Prevost, "but years and a number of industrious Settlers can only make a Change upon the face of the Colony."¹⁶

Almost exactly a year later, an English officer on a tour of the colonies wrote of Pensacola:

"The Governour's is the only tolerable House in the place.-It is covered with Shingles, and has a Balcony both ways up one pair of Stairs. - All the other Houses are on the ground, and covered with Palmeto Leaves.-It is a very poor place, the Soil a deep white Sand for many Miles round."

14. See under Dabbadie and Indians in *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, X.

15. See note 8.

16. *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 136; *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 5: 582.

"The Pitch Pine grows all round in great quantities, but not very near each other, at every here and there one finds a Cedar Swamp, and under the large trees is much Brush of Candleberry, Myrtle, and Shrub Oak."

"The Harbour of Pensacola, or rather the Bay is magnificent, and might contain any Fleet, was it not for want of Water at the Bar, at present nothing beyond a Fifty Gun Ship would get over, but was a Squadron for North America ever to be built, flatter and more after the Dutch Model, it might obviate this difficulty.-At present there appears scarce a probability of improving such desert Sands, yet it is difficult to Say how the Spanish Trade may operate, since it will be more commodiously carried on here, than at any Port belonging to Great Britain, particularly after that the Crown of Spain shall be in possession of all the East of Mississippi and New Orleans."

"The heat here is much less intense than at Jamaica or the Leeward Islands, for there comes almost a daily breeze from the Sea, and the Nights (even in the Dog-day season) are very pleasant.-The Officers complain much of Cold in the Winter Months, and Easterly Winds which are very cutting. The Houses too are all framed of Wood, and covered with Palmeto leaves, the Sides either plaster or bark of trees, and Scarce a Chimney to be seen, so it is no wonder they are cold."¹⁷

Apparently conditions were not improved immediately. A little over two years later, in November, 1766, Captain Harry Gordon, chief engineer of the western department of North America visited Pensacola. He wrote :

"Pensacola Bay is a very good Roadsted, yet 2 Brigs, and 4 Schooners and Sloops, were drove from

17. Lord Adam Gordon, *loc. cit.*, 382, 384.

their Anchors and Wrecked, [in] the Storm of 22d last Month, altho' the Height of the Gale [was] off the Nighest Shore.

"On Entering the Fort I was Astonished to see the poor Huts that are in it; but much more so when viewing the Condition of them, and that of the Poor Soldiers who inhabit here. Their Barracks are covered with Bark on the Sides and Roof, which naturally Shrivels in a short time by the heat of the Sun, which was the case now. The Firmament appeared thro' the Top and on all sides, The Men were walking About like Ghosts on a damp Sandy Floor, that is near a Foot under the Level. They were repairing the Roofs, but this has been the Bane of Cost, and but a short Time serving as a Cover never to keep out the Rain from those large Buildings; Some of the Officers Huts were Similar, only the difference of a few Boards laid over the sand to tread on, others of the Officers were well enough Lodged, but this the fewest part; The Hospital has only the distinction of always, being first Covered, and the Provision Stores that of being the last. The Destruction of the best Regiments is thus accounted for, without the Climate, which yet I am apt to believe also does its Part.

"It is high Time to fix the Necessary Garrison for this place, and as soon as that is done, to Erect proper Barracks for them. The Rooms should be raised at least 5 feet above the Ground, there will be more and better Air, and I am Convinced be Healthier. In the furnishing of them, Attention Should be had in those Parts to prevent the Men from being Tormented in their Beds by the Muskitos, being open to them as they now are, Exposes them like the Beasts of the Field, to the Sting of these Venomous Insect or Fly, only there is not so many out of Doors, as Inside, nor do the Beasts Eat Salt

Meat, as the Soldiers are obliged to live on, and therefore not so much Inflamed by their Poison. The underparts of the Barracks, may serve for Stores of Different kinds. After this it ought to be considered in what manner the whole is to be inclosed; The Stockades round it at present, are and will be, totally rotten by next Year.

"While We remained here I viewed along with Brigadier Taylor, the Country adjoining the Town, in order to fix on proper Situations for 3 Block-houses demanded by the Governor, for the Protection of the Town from the Creek Indians; These were accordingly fixed, and as the Situation of 2 of them will probably be Healthy, if Executed, They will be Convenient for Hospitals, when the Creek Alarm passes." ¹⁸

Taken altogether Pensacola did not present an attractive picture from the point of view of civilized comforts in this period of the military occupation or the early civil period. Even much later Bernard Romans, a government map-maker employed by the board of trade, wrote that vegetables were not common in Pensacola. Fish and meat were also rare, he added, but only because of the indolence of the inhabitants, who let one or two butchers and three or four industrious Spanish hunters fix their own prices. Romans thought the country rich and spoke of the valuable rice lands on the Chester, Middle, and Escambia rivers "such as have enriched the Planters in Carolina, and Georgia." The three rivers, he said, "are of the Utmost Consequence to the Town of Pensacola and will Undoubtedly prove One of the Sources of its future Wealth." ¹⁹

18. "Journal of Captain Harry Gordon's Journey from Pittsburg down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola, 1766," in Mereness, *op. cit.*, 486-487.

19. Bernard Romans, "An Attempt Toward a Short Description of West Florida," in Philip Lee Phillips, *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans*, Deland, Florida, The Florida State Historical Society, 1924, pp. 120-121.

The modern town of Pensacola was really established in 1764.²⁰ That year saw the beginning of the rush for the lands surrounding Pensacola and Mobile bays.²¹ Land speculators arrived as much as two months before the arrival of the first British troops of occupation.²² The principal example which appeared in the minutes of the council of this sort of speculation was the case of James Nobles, who purported to act as agent for a new company of London merchants which included the Earl of Bute, Lord Mansfield, Augustus Keppel, Marriott Arbuthnot, John Lindsay, John Kinnion, and Samuel Touchet. The Dukes of York and Cumberland were rumored to be members.²³

When Major Farmar took full possession of Mobile on October 20, 1763,²⁴ he issued a manifesto requiring the registration of all transfers. of land and their approval by the commandant.²⁵ The manifesto was dated from Mobile, "... the present seat of the English government in Louisiana. . ."; there seems to be no record that Prevost issued a similar proclamation at Pensacola, nor, apparently, did either Hedges or Ogilvie issue one at St. Augustine. Farmar's manifesto, of course, simply publicised the terms of the treaty of Paris.

In the vicinity of the forts, instant steps were taken to prevent the sale of crown property by de-

20. See the reference to Hamilton and Lowery in notes 6 and 7; also *P.R.O., C.O. 5* : 574 and 632, *passim*.

21. *P.R.O., C.O. 5* : 632. The Minutes of the Council for this period are to be found in this volume. See the writer's forthcoming study of "Early Economic and Social Development in West Florida, 1763-1769."

22. *P.R.O., C.O. 5* : 632.

23. Governor Johnstone's Complaint of Chief Justice Clifton in *P.R.O., C.O. 5* : 583; *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 468-477.

24. Military Papers of Major Robert Farmar, Farmar's Report to the Secretary at War, January 24, 1764, *P.R.O., W.O. 1* : 49; *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 7-17.

25. Military Papers of Major Robert Farmar, *P.R.O., W.O. 1* : 49; *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 66-61.

parting foreign officials.²⁶ During the military period and the early period of the civil government, plantations, small farms, and gardens which had been taken over from the French and Spanish were cultivated, and crops of fruit, vegetables, lucerne, and maize were planted and harvested.²⁷ The markets of the towns were filled at seasons with Indians, traders, and merchants, exchanging goods.²⁸ Although the population was largely military and trading in character, an English life had begun in the colony. At Pensacola the thirty-fifth regiment had been stationed and many of its members joined the growing population of the colony.²⁹ They petitioned for lands to be granted them in accordance with the king's proclamation of grants to all men who had served in the late war.³⁰ The establishment of former soldiers as settlers on the frontier was appreciated by the government as a means of providing an experienced militia to aid the regular troops in defense of the colony.

The first council met at Pensacola on November 24, 1764.³¹ Probably it was held in the house of Governor Johnstone, which was within the fort. The governor at this time was disputing the control of the fort with the military commandant.³² In accordance with his instructions Johnstone had appointed the members of his council.³³ Frequently

26. Farmar's Report, *P.R.O.*, *W.O.* 1: 49; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 253.

27. *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 5: 632.

28. Farmar's Report, *P.R.O.*, *W.O.* 1: 49 ; Minutes of the Council, *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 5 : 632 ; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, Chapters 16 and 17, *passim*; James Adair, *History of the American Indians*, London, 1775.

29. *Correspondence of General Gage*, I, 9, 14, 42.

30. The Proclamation is printed in this *Quarterly*, III, No. 4, 36-42.

31. *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 5: 632.

32. The story of this quarrel is given in Clinton N. Howard, "Governor Johnstone in West Florida." *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII, No. 4, 281-303.

33. *P.R.O.*, *C.O.* 5: 574, 599, 632.

the councillors were appointed by the secretary of state for the southern department who controlled colonial patronage, but in this case most of the appointments appear to have been left to the governor. The following were members of the council: James Macpherson,³⁴ secretary of the province ; John Stuart, superintendent of Indian relations ; Robert Mackinnen,³⁵ captain commandant of the thirty-fifth regiment, stationed at Pensacola ; and James Bruce,³⁶ collector of customs at Pensacola; William Struthers, merchant in the Indian trade ; Elias Durnford,³⁷ surveyor-general of the province ; Francois Mozier,³⁸ an old French and Protestant inhabitant; likewise Francois Caminada; Jacob Blackwell,³⁹ collector of

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34. He was a poet and editor of the Ossian saga, the publication of which caused much controversy in eighteenth century literary circles. Shortly after this appointment he returned to England where he continued as an absentee office holder. His nephew Alexander Macpherson was his deputy. The elder Macpherson was a member of the Scottish bloc which was prominent in England and the colonies after the accession of George III.
35. Mackinnen was commandant of the fort at Pensacola when Johnstone began his quarrel with the military authorities on November 3, 1764. The Minutes of the Council and the British army records give other information about him.
36. Bruce, Struthers, and most of these and other men are mentioned in the correspondence and official records of the colony. See the writer's forthcoming publication on "Early Econ. and Soc. Devel. in B.W.F., 1763-1769."
37. Durnford had connections in England. He was of a London mercantile family. He became surveyor general of the province and later was appointed lieutenant governor of West Florida after the death of Governor Eliot and the recall of Lieutenant Governor Browne in 1768.
38. A study of the French Huguenot population of Louisiana would be a desirable work. There is considerable information concerning Mozier. Camindad and other older French Protestant settlers as well as the few French inhabitants of the new British town of Campbelltown available in the minutes of the council, the correspondence with the home government, and other of the West Florida records.
39. Blackwell was an army contractor. He seems to have been a friend of Haldimand, who wrote that the arrival of Blackwell's wife made a very pleasant addition to their society.

customs at Mobile; Robert Crooke,⁴⁰ merchant in the Indian trade ; and William Clifton,⁴¹ the chief justice of the province.

The council began its active business at its meeting of the next day when six members were present. At this meeting the governor proposed, and the council agreed, that a proclamation should be issued for the promoting of religion and the restraining of vice and immorality in the province.⁴² It was also resolved that a general commission of the peace should forthwith be issued under the broad seal of the province.

At a meeting held on November 27, Elias Durnford, who had not been present at the previous meetings, was sworn in. The clerk read the proclamation for the promotion of religion and the restraint of vice in the province. He also read the terms of the commission of the peace for the province and both these were agreed to by the council, with the addition of one more member to the commission. The clerk then read certain proposed advertisements to the inhabitants of Pensacola. The first of these dealt with the regulation of the retail sale of spirituous liquors. The second forbade the dumping of dirt or ballast into the harbor. The third was a

40. The colonial records contain ample material for a study of the Indian trade and traders. They constituted one of the most important groups in the province.

41. Clifton merits study as a colonial chief justice. The ideas attributed to him by Governor Johnstone must have been unusual for a man in his position. *P.R.O., C.O. 5* : 583 ; *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 465-468.

42. This was in accordance with the usual provision in the instructions to colonial governors which was included in Johnstone's instructions, *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 599. "From this point the sequence of topics [in the Governor's instructions] varies, but usually follows approximately this order: the administration of justice, inferior provincial officials, religion and morals" Leonard W. Labaree, *Royal Government in America*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, p. 16; see also pp. 6-7, 115-120.

proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to produce before the council the titles to their lands before the first of the following January. The governor then caused to be read to the council an article of his instructions requiring the establishment of different fees to be taken at the several government offices and at the same time he laid before the council a list of the fees taken in the colony Georgia, in accordance with the recommendations of the lords of trade and plantations that the fees of West Florida be modelled upon those of Georgia.

At a meeting on the twelfth of December the council resolved that it would be of great advantage to open a road between Pensacola and Mobile. A committee was later appointed to consider and report on this matter. This is an interesting example of the way in which the government was concerned in public projects. This committee laid plans for a road and post service, and drew up a table of fees, but it is uncertain how far their plans were realized. The project was embodied in an act of the assembly on June 5, 1767. The road was surveyed by Durnford, and Hamilton refers to it as though it had been completed by 1770. The authorities, he says, maintained the bridges and the Perdido ferry, but the Mobile merchants maintained a post service to Pensacola to connect with the British packet service.⁴³

The minutes of the council show that the fourth assembly of the province in March of 1770 accepted the proposal of a Captain McKensie to employ two companies which were en route to Mobile to open a new road. There is some evidence which points to an early use of this road by the British soon after their occupation of the province, but in all likelihood the road was little more than a track. The journals of the assembly likewise show that on the third of

43. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 270-271.

May, 1770, the assembly returned public thanks to McKensie and the troops for aiding "more speedy communication" between the two towns.⁴⁴

The council, on the ground that the Spanish titles were invalid, disallowed practically all of the pretended Spanish sales around Pensacola to British land speculators. Nearly all of the speculators declined to sustain these claims, but availed themselves of the equitable adjustment of grace granted them by the council. In all such cases it was promised the petitioners that they would be granted such of their lands, as did not interfere with the laying out of the colony. This planned system is illustrated in the laying out of Pensacola.

During the early months of 1765 Governor Johnstone and the council were largely concerned with the clearing of title to lands purchased before their arrival. Then they turned to the program of laying out the colony's lands. A great number of grants were made both to speculators and to new petitioners. Most of these grants were in the vicinity of Pensacola, but as this was taken up the population spread, first to the peninsulas to the south and east, to the southeastern shore of the bay, and finally to the northwest and thence northeast across the head of the bay close to the mouths of the Escambia, Middle, and Chester rivers. These other shores of the bay were settled much more slowly, however, than the peninsulas near Pensacola had been. To the west of Pensacola a few settled themselves on the short coursed rivers close to the sea.⁴⁵ On one of these, for instance, Attorney General Wegg pos-

44. Minutes of the Council, March 11, 1770, *P.R.O., C.O.* 5 : 626, and Minutes of the Assembly, May 3, 1770, *P.R.O., C.O.* 5 : 627.

45. These movements are evident from a study of the Minutes of the Council and the official correspondence.

sessed himself of a fall, presumably for the purpose of using its power in a mill.⁴⁶

The granting of lands in the province occupied a large proportion of the time of the council during the year 1765, nor was the let-up of business especially noticeable during the following two or three years, except as other business of a very imperative nature intervened. As early as December 19, 1764, grants were made to petitioners of lands in the country, but whether these lands had been surveyed is doubtful. Durnford had been at work and it would appear most likely that he was devoting a large measure of his labor at this time to the drafting of the town plan for Pensacola, a plan which had been one of the first considerations of the council. On December 21 the council had made twenty-one grants of town lots in Pensacola. On January 7, among other things, they heard the report of the committee of citizens relative to the establishment of an Anglican parish church, and granted to the committee the lot which had been petitioned. It happened that the committee had set upon the very lot which had likewise been petitioned by Major Farmar, but in this, as in the later conflict with the lieutenant governor, Farmar came out second best. On January 24 the council heard the defense of James Noble of the Spanish titles to the lands which he had purchased for the members of his "company." The council disallowed the claims and on February 5 notified Noble that they were prepared to receive his petition for lands in the provincial survey in compensation for disallowance of his Spanish claims. On February 3 the council had taken the care to set aside lots in Pensacola for purposes of naval use and for government buildings.

46. *P.R.O., C.O.* 5: 632.

Throughout most of January and February, 1765, the council devoted itself to the dispensing of the town and garden lots in Pensacola in accordance with Durnford's survey. For general distribution the population was divided into three classes which were to a certain degree based upon wealth and, hence, ability to develop properties. These classes were designated for first class choice, second class choice, and, finally, the rest. In accordance with the governor's instructions land was granted in proportion to the number in the "family," and indentured servants were apparently often included in this group by petitioners. Indeed, a year or more later a citizen entered a petition with the council in complaint of a certain man who had accumulated a considerable amount of land. The petition declared that the said person was an indentured servant and had already been included in the "family" of his master. Therefore he had no right to lands of his own. The council took the matter under consideration and sent for witnesses in order to determine whether or not the statement was true.

The terms under which the grants were made by the governor and council were largely of the general sort of cultivation and development which had been laid down in the governor's instructions. The usual requirement in West Florida was that the grant should be taken out within seven months of its passing by the council, and bond had to be given for settlement of the land within two years.

The town surveys which were at this time laid out for Mobile, as well as Pensacola, and later for Campbelltown and Natchez, all followed the original pattern laid down by Durnford for Pensacola. In all cases lands around the forts were set aside for the use of the military, and lots were reserved,⁴⁷

47. *P.R.O., C.O.* 5: 632.

where necessary, for public buildings, naval purposes, and location and glebe endowment for the established churches. The position of the established church is interesting in the colony, Hamilton has quite rightly remarked that, "we have to go far back into the history of Virginia and Carolina to find legislation as thorough in the participations of church officers in the civil government as that which prevailed in West Florida."⁴⁸ The establishment of the parish churches appears to have been one of the first considerations of the leading citizens. The clergy were somewhat late in arriving in the colony. One of the complaints later made against Johnstone was that he did not endeavor to provide sufficient support for the rectors. Another frequent cause of complaint was the lack or absence of army chaplains with the regiments which were stationed in the province. The parish system as it was established in the province was of the usual type with wardens and vestries. The leading citizens and members of the council were often members of these vestries, which served, as in Tudor England, especially, many public functions.⁴⁹ This is probably to what Hamilton referred. The ordinary services of the church were solemnized upon public occasions, such as Indian congresses.⁵⁰ By late spring the general allotment of property in the towns of Pensacola and Mobile was complete for the present and the council turned to the settlement of the rural parts of the province.⁵¹

The first assembly of the province was convoked on November 3, 1765 in Pensacola in a house hired for the purpose by the government. Six members

48. Hamilton, op. cit., 543.

49. Edward Potts Cheyney, *The European Background of American History*, New York and London, [1904], 290-315.

50. For instance, see *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 191, 216, and *P.R.O., C.O.* 5: 582.

51. See the reference in note 21.

were allotted to represent Pensacola, six Mobile, and two Campbelltown. The members of the lower house appeared before the council, which administered the necessary oaths. The fourteen representatives then formally organized with the election of a speaker in the person of Francois Pousset, who had long held court at Mobile. In accordance with the king's commission, the governor's council acted as an upper house of the assembly under the chairmanship of the president of the council, the lieutenant governor, Montford Browne. The governor remained in his position as the representative of the crown.⁵²

As soon as business sessions had begun the assembly settled itself to a consideration of the needs of the province and the best means of supplying them. The result of their deliberations was embodied in the lengthy summary of the needs and opportunities of the colony which was drawn up in the form of a representation to the lords of trade and plantations and presented to the governor on November 22. The assembly desired that the representation might be laid before the king in council. The greatest problem of the colony as presented in the report was that of provision of necessary fortifications and protection against Indian raids and possible conquest by a European power. However, included in the estimate of fortifications were some other items of the nature of governmental equipment or public welfare, such as the sum of 10,000 pounds sterling to be expended by the crown for the erection of public offices, the governor's house, courts, council chambers assembly chambers, and a jail. The establishment of public hospitals and saw mills, and the establishment of naval arsenals and

52. The information concerning the Assembly comes largely from the Minutes of the Council and the minutes of the Assembly in *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 575, 625, 626, 632.

yard was asked, at an estimated expense of 20,500 pounds sterling. The expenditure estimated in this first classification of the budget asked of the crown was 68,600 pounds sterling, or an annual expenditure of 17,400 pounds sterling for a period of four years. A second classification of the budget dealt with some miscellaneous needs of the colony. It was suggested that the crown should maintain in the colony four companies of rangers at an annual cost of 6000 pounds sterling for a period of four years, when it was felt that the colony would be able to carry the expense. There was allotted 4000 pounds sterling yearly as the cost of an annual cargo of negroes to be distributed among the inhabitants who were industrious, for the encouragement of agriculture and trade. A humanitarian object was expressed in the suggested allowance of 600 pounds sterling annually for the care of the poor and sick of the colony. Finally it was petitioned that the crown expend 1000 pounds sterling annually in opening up the interior waterways of the province. The total expenditure for these projects amounted to the sum of 11,600 pounds sterling each year. The expenditure was asked only for a four year period, as was the first estimate for forts and troops. Thus the total budget as proposed by the assembly amounted to an annual expenditure by the crown, if granted, of 29,000 pounds sterling for a four year period.⁵³

The assembly lent force to its plans for aid from the crown by pointing out the absolute necessity of these projects. They asked them, they said, "so that the Inhabitants who built their Houses in Confidence of that Protection, (and) live at present with their lives and Property entirely at the Mercy of Savages, who are daily murdering His Majesty's

53. *P.R.O., C.O.* 5: 575.

Subjects, without Check or Chastisement" ⁵⁴ might rest more assuredly in the province. They pointed out that "to see the Fortifications, Churches, Hospitals and Public Buildings, which are every where erecting on the Spanish Dominions, since the arrival of Don Antonio de Ulloa, whilst nothing is undertaken on our part is extreamly mortifying to those who consider the changeful State of European Powers," ⁵⁵ and pleaded that the defense of the colony might be placed upon a basis "worthy of the British Nation, and equal to the purposes of Defence at the Boundary of the Empire." ⁵⁶

The naivete of this representation of the assembly is almost confusing. The assembly pleaded the absolute financial dependence of the colony on the crown, but offered rich commercial rewards if the Spanish commerce were opened, and if the crown would expend money to open up and exploit the country. Many of the projects mentioned in the representation were the very ones which had been discussed by the governor and his council in the previous twenty-two months.

54. *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 575. Governor Johnstone was dismissed in 1767 for commencing hostilities against the Creek Indians. *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 618.

55. *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 575. There was considerable apprehension in West Florida over the cession of Louisiana and especially New Orleans to Spain. Mans felt that the Falkland Islands incident might lead to an Anglo-Spanish war. See Julius Goebel, Jr., *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1927, Chapter VI, and V. F. Boyson, *The Falkland Islands*, Oxford, 1924, Chapter III.

56. *P.R.O., C.O. 5*: 575.

THE FLORIDA MILITIA AND THE AFFAIR AT WITHLACOOCHEE

By SAMUEL E. COBB

Many varied types of organizations, generally spoken of as the militia, came into existence during the Seminole wars in Florida. They ranged from ephemeral units, organized for a particular purpose and at a particular time which were disbanded after a retaliatory attack had been made on the Indians, or the raiding Indians had been dispersed to the fairly well organized military unit, mobilized under the authority of the territorial and national governments and attached to the Federal army.

One of the frontiers of an expanding nation, Florida, in the fall of 1835, was experiencing one of her greatest periods of unrest. Disturbances caused by the vast political, economic, and social changes of the United States were reflected in the territory. The earlier settlers were taking firmer root and another influx was creating an increasing demand for new land.

The Seminole Indians, prior claimants to the peninsula, were, in the eyes of the white man, obstacles in the path of progress. They were accused of appropriating—and this term is used with reservations—and of clinging to, the better tracts for their own savage culture.

Attempts to remove the Seminole nation and to concentrate its tribes west of the Mississippi, had

NOTE—No incident of the Seminole War caused a more acrimonious controversy than that over the participation or the reason for the non-participation of the Florida volunteers in the fight at the Withlacoochee (the unending contest between professional and amateur). Mr. Cobb, of the staff of The National Archives, gives us extracts from several documents on each side, from that source and other sources, as well as a naive account of a volunteer from a contemporaneous Tallahassee newspaper. This paper was read before the Florida Historical Society, February 9, 1940. *Ed.*

been made through the media of several treaties. These were the pacts signed in Florida at Camp Moultrie in 1823, at Payne's Landing in 1832, and at Fort Gibson, Arkansas in 1833. Although these treaties were drawn between representatives of the United States government and the accepted representatives of the Seminole nation, they tended to create friction rather than smooth the way for peaceable migration.

The Indians disclaimed the authority of certain chiefs who had acted for the nation, and the negotiating chiefs themselves flatly denied the terms of the treaties, as they were interpreted by the United States—that the Indians relinquish their claims to the land and migrate. In these misunderstandings, coupled with the alleged treachery and double-dealing on the part of some of the Government agents, lay the causes of the smouldering resentment of the Indians. This feeling resulted in minor disturbances over a period of years, and finally burst forth.

On September 1, 1835, General Duncan L. Clinch, in command of the United States troops in Florida, reported to Washington "the particulars of a most atrocious murder." Private Dalton of the 3rd Artillery, having been dispatched "on a mule with the mail from Fort Brooke to Fort King. . . was met by a party of six Mickasuky Indians who murdered & scalped him, ripped open his body and threw it into a pond of water."¹

On October 8 General Clinch had written that "The time will soon arrive when a large number of the Seminole tribe of Indians have agreed to move to the West. There are still however a large number that are unwilling to remove; & from recent indications I am induced to believe, that force will

1. Archives of The Department of War, The National Archives, AGO, 352-C.

have to be used to compel them to comply with their Treaty stipulations." He stated further that "the force placed under my command is inadequate to enforce a compliance with their Treaty, to give such protection to the frontier settlements, as their apprehensions from the Indians & from another species of population induced them to expect from the Government. I strongly & respectfully urge & recommend the calling into the service . . . for a term of two or three months, one hundred and fifty mounted volunteers . . . This species of force would, in my opinion owing to the nature of the country, be the most efficient and least expensive . . . Being well mounted and all of them good woodsmen & good riders, & well acquainted with every part of the country-many of them deeply interested in its protection-would give them a decided advantage over any other species of troops for the kind of service they would be required to perform . . . I have no doubt they could be raised without any difficulty."²

That the settlers were already taking matters in their own hands is demonstrated by an occurrence in the early part of December. "A self organized party of citizens about 14 in number acting without the least judgement or prudence were fired on by a party of Indians . . . & one man killed and another had his horse shot from under him, and his arm broke." In reporting this incident Clinch again took the opportunity to remind the Federal Government that "If there had been authority for raising the 150 mounted men, recommended by me last summer, the frontier settlements would at this time have been quiet."³

In these troubled times such vigilante parties, some assuming the dignified title of militia, some

2. *Ibid.* AGO, C-403.

3. *Ibid.* AGO, 500-C.

frankly gathering to hunt out the Indian, some to provide safety in their numbers when travelling, were common.

One, Lieutenant Edmund Bird, states that "Capt. S. V. Walker ordered out his company of Spring Grove guards in the territorial service at the earnest request of the citizens of the county and by the advice of his friends; that it was not thought necessary or expedient to obtain an order from the Governor; the times being so critical and requiring more prompt action than could be had by waiting for such order. Capt. Walker's course was approved by Gen. Thompson. . . " ⁴

These and other petitions for authority to raise additional troops from among the territorials resulted on December 9, 1835 in permission "to call into the service of the United States, upon the requisition of General Clinch, and to place under his command any portion of the militia of the Territory of Florida, which he may find necessary for the suppression of hostilities. . . . " ⁵ General Clinch was quick to take advantage of this permission and immediately called on the Governor for troops. The Acting Governor, Mr. Walker, "Immediately issued the necessary orders to General Call for raising volunteers." ⁶

The bloody massacre of Brevet Major Dade and his detachment and the murder of General Thompson, the Indian Agent, and Lieutenant Colonel Smith ; both on the 28th of December, were potent factors which hastened the clash on the banks of the Withlacoochee. On December 29 General Clinch reported from headquarters at Fort Drane that

4. Archives of the Thirtieth Congress, Territorial Papers, The National Archives.

5. Archives of The Department of War, The National Archives, War Office, Military Book, 14; pp. 367-368.

6. The Tallahassee *Floridian*, Dec. 12, 1835.

"Col. Fanning with the principal part of his command . . . had started but a day or two before [the murder of General Thompson and Lieut. Smith] to join the main body of the army, which will proceed immediately in pursuit of the enemy."⁷

General Call had assembled a portion of the 7th brigade of Florida Volunteers, which had been mustered in on December 6 probably in anticipation of the proper authority from Clinch. He delivered an appealing address to a group assembled at Tallahassee calling for volunteers. About "sixty young men tendered their services" and "Left town the next evening under the command of Captain Throop. They were well mounted and made a handsome appearance. Jefferson, Madison and Gadsden counties also contributed their quotas. The battalion when assembled" was "placed under the command of Cols. Parish and Reid, who will no doubt give a good account of their gallant little band."⁸

Apparently General Call gathered various militia units as he proceeded toward Fort Drane prior to the engagement at Withlacoochee.

Although it has been established that many units of Florida militia took part in earlier forays with the Indians, it is apparent that some of them did not see action at all during the long wars that ensued.

One, Isiah Smith, states in his claim that "I was a corporal . . . I was elected to the office of corporal . . . I furnished my own horse, gun and equipments. My family being within one mile of the camp, the captain gave me permission to remain at home during the night :-I was always at Camp during the day." This is signed "Isiah Smith X his mark" Private James Johnson states "while I was in camp

7. Archives of The Department of War, The National Archives, AGO C-511.

8. The Tallahassee *Floridian*, Dec. 12, 1835.

I performed no duty whatever." Another says "The only duty performed by me was to assist in carrying some bloodhounds to a post in the vicinity of the rendezvous, and to escort a waggon train sent for supplies."⁹

While deserving credit for "individual bravery" manifested as volunteers at the outbreak of the Florida War, the militia as organized units evidenced considerable disorganization and lack of efficiency.¹⁰ Fired with enthusiasm for the glory of conquest they marched away to battle. More of a social unit than a military one, they were often victims of their own zeal. The horrors of actual warfare with the Indians were brought home to them when they encountered the experienced and organized fighters under the able leadership of Osceola several days later.

When General Call, commanding the volunteers, joined the regular troops at Fort Drane, he informed General Clinch "that his command had been raised to meet the crisis; and that most of their terms of service would expire in a few days, which made it necessary to act promptly."¹¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Fanning, of the regulars, arrived on the 27th and 29th with three companies from Fort King and a battalion of regular troops. The brigade of mounted volunteers composed of the 1st and 2nd regiments, was commanded by Brigadier General Call. The regulars and volunteers took up the line of march for a point on the Ouithlacoochy river, which was represented by the guides as being a good ford.

9. Archives of the Thirtieth Congress, Military Claims.

10. Captain John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*, p. 145.

11. Archives of The Department of War, The National Archives, AGO C-21.

" we pushed on with a view of carrying the ford and surprising the main body of Indians supposed to be concentrated on the west bank of the river. But on reaching it, about daylight we found, instead of a good ford, a deep and rapid stream and no means of crossing, except in an old and damaged canoe." ¹²

After part of the troops had crossed the river the long war-whoop of the Seminoles was heard from the west bank and the fight was on. The Indians, "headed by Osceola and urged onward by his frantic gestures and shrill voice, poured upon the troops a shower of bullets." ¹³

Thus the much disputed battle of Withlacoochee began. The time of the attack, the number of men involved, and the part the volunteers played in comparison to the activity of the regulars, were all items of bitter dispute at the time. The latter question. was a particular bone of contention.

In his report to the governor, General Call stated that "during the fight the volunteers continued to cross the river and support the troops engaged, until the enemy was driven back. It was owing to their appearance on the field, and the gallant intrepidity, with which they fought, that the regular troops were not entirely cut off. It was to them as well as to myself a source of deep mortification and regret that so few of us should have been enabled to participate in the danger and glory of the day ; but, from the time of attack, and the circumstances under which it was made, it was unavoidable. I crossed the river myself during the fight, and did not arrive on the field till it was nearly ended." ¹⁴

12. *Ibid.*

13. Sprague, p. 92.

14. American State Papers, Vol. VII, p. 220.

A regular comments : "Four hundred and sixty volunteers, under Gen. R. K. Call, were spectators of this conflict across the river, excepting twenty-seven, who under Col. Warren and Lieut. Col. Mills, dashed over in spite of every obstacle, and by their firmness and activity rendered efficient service."¹⁵ General Clinch states "Brigadier General Call, after using every effort to induce the volunteers remaining on the East Bank, when the action commenced to cross the river and in arranging the troops still remaining on that bank crossed over and rendered important service by his coolness and judgement in arranging part of his corps on the right of the Regulars, which gave much strength and security, to that flank."¹⁶ He does not mention any active fighting on the part of the volunteers.

A first-hand account by one of the non-commissioned officers affords an interesting point of view.

"About 12 or 1 o'clock the regulars had all got over, and some few of the volunteers, when the alarm was given 'the Indians are coming,' Our sentinels were not placed far from the river, or you know they would have seen the enemy and fired before us, so as to apprise the army of the near approach of the Indians, which would have given us time to have gotten in readiness to meet them in proper order. However I received my orders to take charge of some 30 or 40 men, to guard the horses and baggage, that were on the other side of the river. After waiting some 30 minutes or more, pretty much alarmed I left my little company giving them orders to keep their post, and in case of an attack not to fire a gun until each man could bring his Indian to the ground. The fighting during this time was at a distance of

15. Sprague, p. 92.

16. Archives of The Department of War, The National Archives, AGO C-21.

150 yards, my curiosity induced me to go on a small hill and peep, (pretty much alarmed all the time), when I got where I could see some of the Indians and our men I took a good peep at them, and then I began to reflect on our situation, I saw our men running and I knew that they were about to yield to the galling fire of the enemy, and thought they would come on me. I knew that my small company of men could not stand them. Therefore I determined to go and join them and all fall together, after arriving safe & sound to the men that were retreating, I asked Cap't. Parish why he did not make a charge on the Indians. His reply was he did not know what to do. Cap't. Parish took his gun like a man and fought-his men not many of them were on the battle ground,-Gen. Clinch was at the moment trying to rally his man & making severe threats if they did not form the line. Col. Parkhill, I had been informed, had ordered the charge to be made, which I believe to be a fact, and when I reached the spot, I found him riding up & down the line with great spirit and animation trying to rally the soldiers to a renewal of the action. It is a mistake about the General's getting in front of his men. I did myself do that thing, and said to the brave volunteers that nothing but a manly charge would save us, and all they wanted was a leader, and requested them to follow me.-I then addressed myself, in the same language to the regulars urging upon them the necessity of a charge. Our General knows this to be a fact.-Well-into the charge we went, not in military order, but in a way to knock down and drag out, and by so doing, be enable to conquer the Indians. In a few minutes they were soon driven out from the field into a thick cypress swamp. When I gave general orders for each man to take his tree, and fight in their

own way, and sure enough they gave us 1 or 2 rounds and retreated from the ground, until near night, when we were about to cross the river, which was a pleasing thing to all of us. However, we got across safe, the men walked as light and as quick as if they were on hot embers and myself one of the number. After crossing the river I was ordered by Gen. Clinch to take some men and move the dead and wounded, to an Indian cowpen, about 50 yards from the thickest swamp I most ever saw. During this time the Indians were yelling in every direction. I can tell you, we were all glad to get out of that swamp and the cowpen, I determined not to camp on that ground, because I wanted to fight the Indians in their own way.-There had been some of the wounded carried to that place, and one Doctor was dressing their wounds, I observed to him that this was too near to the swamp, the Indians would be firing at us all night, and we should have no chance. His reply was that he would not disobey orders. I told him that I would, and went about 2 or 300 yards, where we had a pond on one side, which protected us, for had it not been for that pond, there would not have been much coffee drunk there that night.-I am giving true facts. The last man I brought out of the swamp, as I passed the Doctor, I saw him gathering up his men in a great hurry to go to my camping ground. I observed to him passing by, that he was wrong for disobeying orders, but I got in reply nothing but a sour look.-In this time all of our men had got to the camping ground. I now began to reflect on the course I had pursued, in making the charge, and disobeying order in the removing the sick and wounded. I began to think they would hold a court martial over my conduct and agreeably to military law have me shot. Therefore I determined to say something to Gen. Clinch

about the business. So I took my cap off and went to the General with it in my hand and observed to him that I had disobeyed orders about the camping ground and made some excuses about it, when he raised up his hand said, "My good fellow dont say anything more, this is the right place"-well I began to think all was well on account of my trial for disobeying orders. As for the charge on the Indians I know that was pleasing to the General, because after it was over he passed by and observed "How do you come on my good fellow." I told him that I was very much exhausted. He told me to come to him. I did so and got a pat on the shoulder, and then he ran his hand into his pocket and drew a flask well charged and told me to take a good drink of his brandy. I told him that I would with all my heart. After getting over the strangling, I looked at him and told the General I could make another charge, he smiled and rode off to the river. This is all true, let people say what they will, I am not seeking an office, *that*, they well know. Nothing but the plough handle suits me, and to attend my toll gate. You shall certainly have a full statement of the month's service when I have time to write it all down. The children are squalling on all sides and I must conclude."¹⁷

It is thus that the first real clash of the volunteers with the enemy ended. Exhausted, without food, many of their horses lost in the battle-their first taste of military life left them with a yearning to get home and protect their own homesteads.

The battle of words that fills the press of the day is interesting.

"As to the credit of the affair, we are inclined to give it to Powell as far as dash and enterprise are concerned, and though our troops unquestion-

17. The Tallahassee *Floridian*, Feb. 20, 1836.

ably maintained possession of the field of battle, he succeeded in his object in preventing their further advance, as is evident from their subsequent withdrawal." ¹⁸

The confusion at Withlacoochee shared to a less extent by Osceola and his men than by the regulars and volunteers can be attributed to a tactical oversight on the part of the latter.

Although the stream had been "represented as a good ford" the troops would probably have avoided being ambushed had a small scouting party been sent ahead to examine the terrain before attempting to move the main body of troops across.

Osceola's shrewdness is well demonstrated in his surprise attack when the body of troops was divided. He waited. Half the troops were on the west bank, half were on the east bank. The crossing was being made in one "old and damaged" canoe. He struck at this moment. The result was confusion for the Federal and Volunteer troops. ¹⁹

18. *Ibid.* Feb. 20, 1836.

19. *Ibid.*

NOTE-Requests for information concerning material in the custody of The National Archives, should be made to The Division of Reference, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

HIRAM F. HAMMON, PIONEER HOMESTEADER OF PALM BEACH

By **MARIAN R. TRUMBULL**

Among the early settlers who helped to transform a stretch of Florida wilderness into a modern city was Hiram F. Hammon, first homesteader of what is now Palm Beach; and this account of him and what he did has been gathered from family recollections, * intimate papers of the Hammon and Lanehart families, and several authoritative publications.

Mr. Hammon (known to many as Uncle Harley) was born in Conneautville, a small town in northwestern Pennsylvania, in 1841, the only son of Charles and Alvina Foster Hammon. His early education was gained in the local public schools and his first business venture was in connection with a local flour mill. He volunteered for service in the Northern army at the beginning of the war between the states but was rejected because of his health and never got beyond a blue uniform and the outposts of Harrisburg. Discouraged, and a victim of rheumatism, he migrated South, seeking a climate agreeable to his particular ailment.

He came to Titusville in the late '60's and during the next few years plied a boat along the Indian River carrying occasional passengers, produce, and mail. By this time he was so sold on Florida that he took a homestead on Lake Worth, and that homestead is now Palm Beach. The property extended from Royal Palm Parkway northward to the Bingham estate, reaching from the ocean to Lake Worth. These 169.2 acres were later found by the United

*Mrs. Trumbull is the great grand niece of Hiram F. Gammon. Her paper was read before the Florida Historical Society at its regional meeting in Palm Beach on January 13 last.

States Department of the Interior to be the most valuable claim ever filed. After proceeds from sales of this property had amounted to well over a million dollars, the Department sent a representative to interview Mr. Hammond and make the only known photograph of him.

In 1873 he made life-long friends of George Lainhart and William Lanehart, who, by the way, spelled their names in different ways, each claiming to be right. The reason for the difference in spelling was generally said to be due to the fact that one was a Democrat and the other a Republican. The two spellings are still used by the present day families. These friends settled at Palm Beach. William Lanehart took a homestead adjoining Mr. Hammon's and they lived together in a palmetto shack, a lazy humdrum sort of life in their new-found paradise with nearest post office, St. Lucie, sixty-five miles away. Sometimes they received mail every two or three weeks and at other times not for two or three months, for deliveries were made by people traveling south to settle and many times they were few and far between. The nearest clothing and grocery store was at Titusville-125 miles. As there was no mode of transportation by land, the trips into town were made on a forty-foot sharpie.

In January 1878 the monotony was broken by the appearance of a Spanish boat aground on the beach laden with coconuts and hides and bound from Havana to Barcelona. Uncle Harley and Mr. Lanehart were the first to greet the strangers, who attempted to explain in Spanish that they had lost their course and were wondering if this was Mexico. It was later suggested that the cargo was heavily insured and purposely beached ; but be that as it may, the pioneers were told to help themselves to the 20,000 coconuts. Of these 14,000 were planted and thence

came the lovely waving palms of which we Floridians are so proud. Later the underwriters sold the old wreck at auction. Of course, money was one thing that these old settlers didn't have, but Mr. Lanehart got the prize for \$20.80. The captain and his crew enjoyed life on the beach, living on fish and game and keeping well saturated with a Spanish wine which was part of the cargo. In a short time they were picked up by a passing vessel which they hailed, but the coconuts remained and are with us still.

The ocean was most kind to these old settlers, as many necessities as well as luxuries were washed right up to their front doors. Once they were running short of lard and 2800 pounds washed onto their beach. Sails which had been discarded from boats were made into grand duck suits; and occasional news, such President Garfield's death, was thrown from a passing freight boat to a fisherman's sharpie.

At one time Uncle Harley thought that maybe, after all, Florida should be given back to the Indians, and that Cuba would be a better place to live. So he put a mule and his favorite cow on board the sharpie and started out. This idea was soon downed, for after one attempt at raising cucumbers in Cuba he was more than content to return to his Florida homestead.

Life went on in this southern clime and Uncle Harley's rheumatism was only a memory. After the railroad was built, he made it a habit to go North every year or so. On these visits he replenished his wardrobe, buying a certain type of shoe and other specialties for his rugged life. Then he would settle down to impressing his family by recounting the wonders of Florida. He was most anxious that my great grandfather purchase what is now Clematis Avenue in West Palm Beach; but

no, my grandfather thought it was too far from the ocean to be worth the \$300.00.

As time passed, Uncle's mother would come and spend the winter months with him, living in a most primitive sort of way. She would bring such souvenir presents back to Pennsylvania as lovely rattlesnake hides, wildcat pelts and countless shells. When automobiles came into use the family allowed one month to get to Florida over terrible roads with no decent accommodations along much of the route; however, they felt more than repaid by the time spent in the Florida sunshine. More and more people were now beginning to come to Palm Beach for the season, which at this time opened on January 2nd and ended with the closing of the railroad hotel on February 23rd. Then the Palm Beachers settled down to their regular life.

The pioneers realized that they must get a little cash and the tourists were the most logical source, but there was only six weeks in which to do it. Uncle Harley got the idea that a portion of his land (which is now the Everglades Club), being a very heavy jungle growth, would be an attraction to tourists. Through this he cut trails just wide enough for an Afri-mobile, the popular name then for wheel chairs. They wound back and forth through the jungle at times so close together that they were only two feet apart, but so thick was the growth that you couldn't see through to the next path. When you finally arrived at the shores of Lake Worth, the big moment of the trip was at hand. Here "Alligator Joe" entertained all sight-seers with an exhibition of alligator feeding and riding. From one cleared space you could see through to an orange grove which belonged to Mr. Lanehart. The tourists were spell-bound at the growing fruit; but just wait, Mr. Hammon had taken care of their being able to drink fruit juice

from that very grove. At the end of the trail was a big barrel of fruit juice with a large tin cup hanging over the side. All of this for only fifty cents, and the tourist surely fell for the trip; and Uncle was elated because this paid his taxes on the homestead that was later to be the winter homes of Vanderbilt and others.

In the early days Mr. Hammon gave the Pioneer Association a lot for a cemetery. It was on Worth Avenue, near the ocean. Of course, he had no idea of what Worth Avenue would become, but he did know that it was a choice part of his homestead. There was hardly room in this one lot for the final resting place of the eighty-four worthy pioneers. But the aristocratic winter visitors didn't relish the idea of having a cemetery there, even for the founders of Palm Beach; so the lot was sold and the proceeds together with a donation from West Palm Beach was applied on the purchase of land between Dixie and Olive streets. During his last days Mr. Hammon gave the Pioneer Association a lot in Palm Beach for the erection of a building, later this was also sold and the building built from the proceeds on less valuable property.

During the summer of 1917, when Uncle was making his annual visit North and my parents' marriage had just taken place, he persuaded them to come to Florida; and it was in 1919 that Uncle first adventured in growing beans, tomatoes, and eggplant in the muck lands bordering Lake Okeechobee at what is now Canal Point. During his last years he turned his eyes southward to the present site of the Hammon Development Company, growers of vegetables at Pompano. Mr. Hammond passed on in November of 1922, and was buried in Conneautville, Pennsylvania. He had never married and his business interests passed to the descendants of his only surviving sister Mrs. Ella Hammon Power.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE SPANIARDS AND OTHER GROUPS FROM EAST FLORIDA, 1763-1764¹

By WILBUR H. SIEBERT

The departure of the Spaniards, their dependents, and other inhabitants from East Florida when the British took over the two Floridas in 1763 began on April 12 when three schooners sailed from St. Augustine for Havana. Sixteen vessels left in August, two or more of them for Apalachee, including an English packet boat and the English sloop *Hawk*, one sloop left in September, a French sloop and six other vessels in October, two in November, including a French sloop, an English brigantine, an English sloop, and four other vessels in December. With one sloop on January 8, 1764 and eight vessels on the following day, the sailings were completed.

The troops which were removed-most of them to Havana-were as follows: two hundred and thirty-five Infantry, officers and men; ninety officers and men of the Mountain Fusileers; fifty-two officers and men of the Mounted Dragoons; thirty-nine Foot Dragoons, including the officers; eighty-five officers and men of the Militia; thirty-nine officers and men of the Artillery; and eleven free colored soldiers, four of whom were officers.

These colored soldiers had undoubtedly been on duty at the little town of Gracia Real de Mose, two and a half miles north of St. Augustine, which had a small fort and also a beneficed parish priest by

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1. This account is derived from Governor Melchor Feliu's letter of Apr. 16, 1764, to Minister Julian de Arriaga, Enclosure No. 2-Persons Evacuated from San Augustin de la Florida, and a letter of Feb. 12, 1765, from the Royal Officials of Havana to Arriaga. See the author's *How the Spaniards Evacuated Pensacola in 1763*, in this *Quarterly*, October 1932.

the name of Don August de Rezio. The older people of the town had been fugitive slaves from Georgia and South Carolina. From 1733 such persons had been resorting to St. Augustine and had been ordered liberated by a royal decree of that year. However, they seem to have remained in bondage until March 1738 when Governor Montiano freed them in response to a petition from some of them. By his order they colonized at the site of the Pueblo da Gracia Real de Mose, where plots of land were laid out for them, and there other colored refugees settled from time to time. They were instructed in Catholic doctrine and good customs by the Rev. Josef de Leon. In 1756 the men of the little town were organized into a military company with their own officers, and a square sod fort was built with a battery of four guns for them to garrison and defend. This defensive work was commonly called the "Negro Fort." Governor Don Alonso Fernandez de Hereda was responsible for its erection and the formation of its company.²

At the time of the evacuation of East Florida by the Spaniards the civil population of the pueblo evidently consisted of eight-seven free colored persons, of whom thirty-one were men, thirty-four, women, and their twenty-two children. They and their priest all sailed away to Havana.

Another group of settlers in the presidio, but which was assigned to a district a little west of St. Augustine, was the Canary Islanders, who, totaled two hundred and forty-six persons, their men numbering forty-nine, and their women fifty-six. There were also sixty-three Catalans, who, as their name shows, had come from Catalonia in northeastern Spain. Of these there were thirty-six women and

2. *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, July 1931 pp. 3-5.

twenty-seven children. The group of Germans was small numbering only twenty-four, with six men seven women and eleven children. Still another racial group was Indians. It comprised eighty-three persons, of whom fourteen were men, thirty-two women, and thirty-seven children. Only twenty of the group were called Christians.

Before speaking of the large and dominant Spanish population I wish to speak of the slaves, most of whom were negroes and a few of them mulattoes and all of whom, numbering three hundred and three, left the presidio with their masters. It is clear that the royal edict of emancipation of 1733 was no longer enforced in East Florida. Of the slaves the men numbered one hundred and two, eight of these being mentioned as the property of the King and four others as being mulattoes. Of the eighty-nine women slaves five were mulattoes. Four of the sixty-five slave boys and six of the forty-seven slave girls were also of the lighter color.

This completes the list of the various racial groups except the Spaniards themselves who took part in the exodus. Apart from the various military companies already mentioned, we catch only glimpses of the occupation of a few of the other male inhabitants in the report before us. The presidio of St. Augustine had only four seamen, and only four pilots to bring vessels in over the treacherous bar at the entrance to the harbor. It had two river guards and a master calker, who doubtless called on the pilots, seamen, and others to help him when he must careen a vessel on shore to stop the leaks in the bottom before it could leave port. The old stone fort at the north end of the town had its chief adjutant, who was Don Francisco Ponze; its second adjutant major, who was Don Pedro Balenzuela; and its chief sergeant, who was Captain Don

Alonzo de Cardenas. The fort and the other royal buildings were under the supervision and care of the overseer thereof, Don Luis Marquez Pacheco, and the chief master mason, Juan Perez, who were assisted by three engineers, Captain Don Pedro de Brozas Garay, engineer in ordinary, Captain Don Juan de Cotilla, another engineer in ordinary, and Don Pablo Castello, a volunteer engineer. The physician of the presidio was Don Francisco Baraza and its surgeon, Don Juan Bignon, while the comptroller of the royal hospital was Don Pedro Horruitiner y Pueyo. The chief customs guard was Don Antonio Fernandes, the chief officer of the royal accountancy was Don Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, and the notary of government and of the royal treasury was Don Joseph de Leon. There was an interpreter of Indian languages, but he is not named. The benefited priest of the parish church was Don Juan Joseph Solano, and the lieutenant of its main sacristy was Don Simon de Hita. Our list must conclude with Senor Don Melchor Feliu, lieutenant colonel of the second battalion of the Regiment of Spain and provisional governor and captain general of the presidio and its provinces.

There were a dozen invalided soldiers whose military connections are not noted. The white women and their children belonged mostly to the officers and soldiers of the presidio. The former numbered four hundred and eighty-two, their boys, four hundred and thirty-eight, and their girls, four hundred and forty-seven. Besides the parish priest in St. Augustine and the one at the Pueblo da Gracia Real de Mose, there were eight other priests, two "ecclesiastics," and three lay religious in the presidio, most of whom must have been connected with the convent of St. Helena in St. Augustine. Another re-

lated group consisted of thirty-one "exiled licentiates."

Not all of the white people and negro slaves went to Havana. A garrison consisting of Captain Don Bentura Diaz and forty-six Infantrymen and of an officer and two men of the Artillery, was detached and sent to the fort at Apalachee. They took with them the wives and children of the married men both totalling eight. No slaves were taken. A part of this group sailed on August 3, 1763. Two other groups, totaling thirty-three persons, left for the city of Campeche, on the southwestern part of the Gulf of Mexico. Of the thirty-three, ten were Militiamen, including their lieutenant; four were white women, and fourteen were children. They were accompanied by four negro slave men and two negro slave women. Both groups went at their own expense.

Nine persons remained at St. Augustine to look after the houses and straying horses, with the understanding that they would go to Havana as soon as their charges had been sold or abandoned. These nine comprised Don Joseph Delolmo, the interpreter of English, three Mounted Dragoons, two Infantrymen, two Militiamen, and one white woman.

Of all the people who sailed away the expenses of seventy-four - twenty-five women, and forty-nine children were borne by Senor Don Pedro Augustin Morel, the bishop of Cuba, those of the rest by the King. The latter numbered two thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, namely: eight hundred and ninety-five men, seven hundred and sixty women, six hundred and fifty-nine boys, and six hundred and eight girls. Four of the inhabitants who had embarked on board the *Nuestra Senora del Rosario*, perished in the shipwreck suffered by that sloop. Without including the nine persons who remained temporarily at St. Augustine, the total number of

persons who reached their destinations was three thousand and ninety-one. All of these, including, of course, the Catalans, were Spaniards except seven hundred and fifty-four.

The shipment of the artillery, munitions, other war materials, implements, etc., was made in the transports and includes one hundred and fifteen pieces of artillery, or parts thereof, of which seventeen were bronze cannon of different calibers; four were bronze and eight were iron swivel-guns; and two were mortars of English casting. There were two gun carriages and about fourteen score boxes and barrels of powder, some twenty thousand five hundred cannon balls, a quantity of grapeshot, and a supply of fuse. There were hoists for mounting cannon and handling heavy shot, and ramrods to send home the loads. Sixty-one of the seven hundred and eighty muskets were recorded as useless, but certainly not for lack of flints of which there were more than twenty thousand. Bullet molds and lead in bars supplied the means of making musket balls, while more than two hundred and fifty machetes enabled the soldiers on the march to clear away scrub palmetto. For the Mounted Dragoons there were sabres, pistols, lances and pikes, as well as bridles, saddles, and leggings. The supplies of saltpeter, sulphur, sal ammoniac, and camphor had their military uses, and so did the armorer's forge. A blacksmith's forge and jackscrews were of more general use, and one would suppose that the four pieces of sailcloth on hand was a scant supply. On the other hand there were plenty of tools for digging, such as pickaxes, hoes, and shovels, and plenty of tools for quarrymen, masons, carpenters, and coopers.

Along with all this laborers' and military cargo went the incongruous paraphernalia and ornaments

of the church and confraternities, which seems not to have been fully listed in the tabulation before us. The ecclesiastical properties noted by Storekeeper Blanco omit much that is recorded in Havana by the custodians of the confraternities of St. Augustine. He confines himself to the following articles: one statue of St. Mark, two altar stones, two altar cloths, a frontal, two metal candlesticks, and an altar bell ; certain articles connected with the Mass, such as four missals, four silver chalices, three damask chalice veils, a Host box, three ciboria, and sixteen purificators; certain garments worn by the priests, such as six chasubles, four albs, four amices, and four cinctures; there were also four small cruet plates and cruets for the holy oil, and four bursas. Governor Feliu wrote to Minister of State Julian de Arriaga on April 16, 1764, that all the things belonging to the King, and which were stored in the royal warehouses, had been transported to Havana "with the exception of those which were lost in a sloop and in a brigantine which ran aground and were broken up in the keys." A launch and two longboats had been left at St. Augustine, which, "together with other trifles of great bulk and little value," were to be sold there to the King's account.

Governor Feliu called attention to the loyalty of the people, who forgot their native country and sacrificed their possessions for the sake of their religion and in order to live in the Spanish dominions. It was "an object of wonder and fear to the English themselves." He hoped that Arriaga would exert his powerful influence with the King so that the heavy losses of certain subjects might be rewarded. All of them had emigrated except the nine who had remained behind in order to conclude the sale of a number of horses which were "wandering about in the nearby woods." Since there was no one who

would act as attorney for the others to sell their farms and houses, Feliu had to allow them to choose and English merchant (John Gordon of Charleston, South Carolina) to attend to that matter until some person might be selected to return and dispose finally of everything owned by the Spaniards.

Governor Feliu commented on the conduct of Captain Hedges of the First Regiment of British troops who took possession of St. Augustine and remained for some days and of Major Ogilvey of the Ninth Regiment who assumed control of East Florida as lieutenant governor. During the time of Feliu's stay with them they devoted themselves to "the preservation of the most perfect harmony," but their troops soon began to dismantle the houses despite his appeals, "stealing everything that could be carried off and burned, in order to remedy their scarcity of firewood." This had greatly reduced the value of most of the houses. Feliu considered the delay of the British in buying the Spanish houses "altogether suspicious." It induced him to believe the evidence he had that Ogilvey dissuaded David Martin, a Scotch merchant, the only person who showed any inclination to buy, not to do it, by arousing his apprehensions. This perhaps explained the fact that more of the houses had not been sold, and that the few which had been, brought only a tenth to a fifth of their value. Moreover, Feliu was convinced that the slowness of the Court of St. James' in assigning families to colonize in East Florida had been "a great discouragement."

The "proprietary governor," Colonel James Grant, was hourly expected to arrive. He was said to be "bringing four hundred families of French Huguenots, who had already taken ship together with a hundred families from the Palatinate and would begin the settlement of the colony." It had

further been reported that, "in order to protect the new inhabitants from Indian raids," the British were sending an Infantry regiment in addition to the hundred and eighty men already there. So strong a garrison and the fact that the colonial government would be a civil establishment would invite settlement. But for the present, signs of early development were lacking ; the bar-" the worst of the whole north"-being a "very serious obstacle," and "generally discouraging in view of the great losses which English trade" had sustained during the brief time it had frequented the port of St. Augustine.

Concerning the Indians, Feliu stated that their restlessness was constantly assuming greater proportions. Despite the assurance by edict that their rightful lands would be returned to them and those to be settled would be bought from them in a council of the chiefs, some of the Indians who had gone to South Carolina for their accustomed presents, raided the frontier on their return, killing fourteen people, and threatening to repeat their hostile acts along the southern coast. Georgia had had a similar experience, as its governor advised the governor of Florida by post. In consequence the latter had called in a detachment of men who were out cutting wood and had given orders for no one to leave the precincts of the fort.

In the north the Indians in battle formation attacked the regulars in plain sight of their posts and very often captured the latter with a boldness never before known of those barbarians. It was reckoned that they had committed four thousand murders and scattered more than a thousand families.

The British garrison, Feliu went on to say, had mounted fifteen cannon of twenty-four and thirty-two calibers and two twelve-inch mortars in the fort

at St. Augustine. They said they were awaiting more war materials as a result of the inspection made at the beginning of October 1763 by Colonel James Robertson throughout the Florida acquisitions. There was no indication of their completing the fort, and the engineer whom they had sent there, who was a surveyor, was busy making a plan of its immediate environs.

Feliu did not understand by the definitive treaty of peace that the houses or other buildings belonging to the Spanish King could be sold, but since it was not expressly forbidden, he had the royal houses, the main guardhouse, the convict barracks, the hospital, and the smithies appraised and sent a copy to Lieutenant Governor Ogilvey, giving his reasons. He also sent lists of the appraisals to Arriaga and the Conde de Ricla, governor of Cuba, for such action as they might think fit to take. In accordance with the definitive treaty he transferred the archives of the presidio of St. Augustine to Ogilvey, but brought away "the royal cédulas and other instruments belonging to the secretariat of the superior government" for delivery to Ricla.

In view of Governor Feliu's zeal and success in effecting the evacuation of East Florida and its transfer to the British officers, the King of Spain granted him the salary of four thousand pesos enjoyed hitherto by the proprietary governors for the full time of his tenure as provisional governor, less the amount of his pay as lieutenant colonel.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN NILES' REGISTER

Selected and annotated by

T. FREDERICK DAVIS *

A View of East Florida in 1817

Any descriptive writing of general character by an intelligent observer a century or more ago is almost certain to contain valuable information for the historian; and this is especially true for Florida. The following account presents a view of East Florida in 1817, four years before the United States officially occupied it through cession by Spain.

(Niles' Weekly Register, November 15, 1817:)

From the National Intelligencer.

It has fallen within our power to satisfy some of the queries proposed a few days ago by a correspondent in our columns. The subjoined article, on East Florida, is from a source entitled to the highest credit, and as the reader will perceive, from its unadorned matter-of-fact character, was made without any view to publication. Having derived considerable instruction from a perusal of it ourselves, we obtained permission, from the friend to whom it was addressed, to make use of it for the information of the public.

The particulars of the state of East Florida, thus obtained, are the most acceptable at this moment, when a rumor is abroad, and stated with confidence, almost, amounting to certainty, that our government has obtained, or has an assurance of obtaining, by negotiation, a cession of that country from Spain. However reasonable and probable it appears, that Spain should be willing to divest herself of a territory which is not only of no advantage, but an

* Author of "Digest of Florida Material in Niles' Register, 1811-1849," MS

incumbrance to her; and however willing our government might be to obtain on reasonable terms this country, continually infested as it is by wandering tribes of runaways and outlaws, who hold the neighboring country in terror of their ruffian violence; and however certain it is that this country must, at no distant day, enure to the United States -we are pretty confident the rumor we have alluded to is premature; and, far from any treaty or compact having been concluded for the cession of that country by Spain to the United States, we are under the impression that no official communications have passed between the two governments on the subject.

Memoranda on the geography, population &c. of East Florida

With two exceptions, viz. Suarez and Fernandez, who have American wives and families, speaking English entirely, all the other inhabitants of East Florida, who live in that portion of the country situated between the waters of the river[sl St. Mary's and St. John's, within forty miles of the sea, are Americans, with a small mixture of British, or French, or German ; but all domiciliated citizens of the United States. Beyond that extent the country is either vacant, or occupied by hunting parties of Indians, without settlements on the Atlantic side; chiefly Alachauays under Bowlegs, who now reside near the mouth of the Sawanee alias [Little] San Juan, on the bay of Apalache ; and, together with runaway and plundered negroes, extend along the sea shore and islands down southerly as far as Tampa bay.

After passing the aforesaid settlement on the waters of St. Johns, few inhabitants are found excepting those immediately round Augustine, which they consider as their residence. They are poor people, chiefly Minorcians or originals from

the Balearic Isles, and supply Augustine market with vegetables. Passing on [to] the southward of Augustine, you find several inhabitants and some negroes about Matanzas, but only one cotton plantation ; this is 20 miles south.

At Mosquito [New Smyrna], which is 60 miles south, you find four or five cotton plantations, and a good many negroes. Two or three more settlements, of little consequence, are about cape Florida. All these southern settlements are chiefly from Providence, Bahamas; but, being exposed to various depredations and uncertainties, they, as well as all the inhabitants of Augustine, two thirds of whom, as well as Fernandez, have English for their mother tongue, eagerly desiring, and would make any sacrifice to obtain, security and a protective government.¹

The number of white families dwelling between the waters of St. Mary's and St. John's, may be somewhere about one hundred and fifty, [the region] mustering somewhere about three hundred and sixty militia, divided into three districts, each of which has a captain and lieutenant, &c. elected by the people of their respective districts, together with a judge or justice of the peace, who tries all causes by an arbitration or jury of twelve men. They have the power of punishing in minor cases; but, when they convict capitally, the prisoner, together with the proceedings, are remitted to St. Augustine, for approbation and execution. No military commander or other servant of the government, has power to arrest any inhabitant beyond the lines of his garrison, who must be prosecuted and tried by the authorities of his own district. The inhabitants are

1. Realizing that it was only a question of time until the United States should acquire the Floridas "either by purchase or by conquest" the government of Spain in East Florida by 1817 had become largely impotent and capable of furnishing little or no protection to outlying communities of the province.

not bound to do any military duty, to muster, nor to pay taxes; nor observe any such regulations except as they make for their own defence and self preservation.²

The white population of Augustine is not included in the above, and may consist of one thousand ; of whom one hundred and fifty may be able to bear arms. Add to this one hundred and fifty white regular troops, and two hundred and fifty black or colored regulars, besides fifty free colored militia.

The inhabitants of Fernandina, I mean free white people, may be about two hundred and fifty, of whom fifty may be able to bear arms.

The white militia of Amelia, who do not muster in any of, the above districts, may be about fifteen men. The negro population of the whole island of Amelia I take to be about 500; that of the three regular districts, including the waters of St. John, 500 ; all others out [side] of Augustine, 500 ; whole colored country population, exclusive of Indians, runaways &c. 1500. Colored women and children, or slaves, in Augustine not included in the above estimate, may be about 500.

All the inhabitants, even the spaniards [except officials and military officers ?], are tired of living

2. This was a unique chapter in the history of Spanish Florida. The Patriot war of 1812-13 left East Florida outside of St. Augustine in a demoralized and deplorable state, without organized protection against the banditti that roamed the country. In the summer of 1816, George I. F. Clarke, Henry Yonge and Zephaniah Kingsley, influential residents of the province, undertook to work out a plan for the rehabilitation of the region between St. Marys and St. Johns rivers, which had formerly been the most populous section of East Florida. Three districts, called Upper and Lower St. Marys and Nassau, were organized, the whole being known as the Northern Division of East Florida; Amelia Island was not included. The Spanish governor, Coppinger, approved the plan with alacrity, being perfectly willing, it is said, to wash his hands of the turbulent element in those parts. The Northern Division was in fact a Florida Republic functioning with the consent of Spain.

without a government, and of all others would prefer that of the United States, as past circumstances plainly prove ; among which may be noticed the simultaneous effort of all the people in 1812 to annex the country to the United States, and also the active part they took to drive back the English in 1814, at St. Mary's, where they had one man killed and one wounded, and beat back seventeen boats filled with British troops. Under these circumstances, they think themselves (as far as is consistent with policy) entitled to the protection of the United States, so far as to keep them from being plundered or imposed upon by any foreign banditti who may take advantage of their present helpless condition, until they can gather strength by increasing their population, which they are now endeavoring to accomplish by inviting emigrations from the United States. To accomplish this the smallest indirect hint given to the commandant of the vessels or troops of the United States at St. Mary's would suffice, by shewing any symptom of favor to their endeavors for self preservation.

It now remains to shew what intrinsic value belongs to this territory, bordered on all sides by the Atlantic [sic.], or intersected by navigable waters, connected with those of the United States. First, the timber, which far exceeds in quality any that grows northerly, consists of forests of live oak, cedar, cypress and pine, all of inexhaustible extent. Secondly, may be mentioned the fertile lands, which from the climate derive qualities not elsewhere to be found: amongst which are, a large tract near Augustine and St. John's, called 12 Mile Swamp, containing 14,000 acres; another extending to Mosquito [New Smyrna], 60 miles long ; another between Bowleg's and Tampa, 60 miles long, supposed to contain some hundred thousand acres. The

whole interior above Alatchawa, for several days ride, is excellent live oak and hickory land. The interior of the country is unexplored by white people, but said to be fertile and healthy, full of pleasant [wild] orange groves, and plentifully stocked with wild cattle.

It has been observed that the inhabitants pay no taxes: by this is meant direct taxes. All foreign goods arriving at Amelia or Augustine pay duties (agricultural machines or implements of husbandry excepted.) But, as there is no custom house or Spanish post on the Main[land], which has free communication with the United States, by means of the waters and channels of St. Mary's river, these inhabitants consequently go free of duties, as the Spaniards are unable to enforce their collection. Indeed, the present liberty and independent state of the inhabitants arises rather from a want of power in the Spanish government than from any royal order or concession made to those inhabitants. But, from motives of convenience, as well as interest, the people and the Spanish authorities maintain the most friendly understanding, as all titles of property, fee simples, and grants of land, in which the government has been very liberal to the people, are derived from that source. Indeed, the government has manifested an uniform disposition to cultivate a good understanding with the people, by granting them every kind of indulgence. It is supposed by the inhabitants, that great encouragement will now be given by the governor to new settlers ; as it plainly appears that the invasion of MacGregor [in this year - 1817] took place in consequence of the paucity of inhabitants, who, therefore, rather than run the risk of defending themselves, remained neuter.

The town of Fernandina is situated on a peninsula or neck of land, the narrowest part of which may

be about two hundred and fifty yards, defended by a strong picket and two block houses, which enclose the whole town. On the side next the harbor, is a fort [San Carlos] well picketed, mounting 8 guns, which commands the anchorage, and reach as far as the middle line of the waters or boundary of the United States.

As the inhabitants are afraid to indulge too sanguine expectations of coming immediately under the government of the United States, they consider it the wisest plan to increase the number of inhabitants by all possible means, so as to protect themselves by their own force, and confirm their independence ; which, by lowering the value of the province as a Spanish colony, would induce that nation to part with it on easier terms. But, as the government of the United States is the ultimate object of the people, they hope that their past conduct has so far merited the good opinion of the United States as to induce that government to go as far towards protecting them in their liberties and properties, as policy and the nature of the circumstances will allow.

Before I drop the subject of East Florida, it would be well to mention the Indians, who, taking advantage of the absence of the inhabitants then employed in besieging St. Augustine [in the Patriot war of 1812], came in from the westward and killed and plundered all they met with, taking off the negroes to a large amount, for which outrage they have never made the smallest satisfaction, but persist in retaining all they took, and granting protection to all runaway slaves from the United States or Florida, whose frontier inhabitants are daily falling a sacrifice to their resentment, which seems indiscriminately directed against all the white inhabitants, with whom they never visit nor have friendly

intercourse. Their head quarters at present is about the mouth of the Sawanee river, called San Juan de Amajura [Guacara] in the old charts, into which river vessels are admitted from New-Providence, who supply them with arms and ammunition in exchange for skins, &c. A certain Woodbine has been with them, and was lately ; he is a British officer, and acquired their confidence during the war, by commanding at the British fort of Apalachicola under colonel Nichols.

Previous to the blowing up of this fort a great many runaway negroes, who composed part of its garrison, doubtful of the event of the siege, deserted from it, and after its destruction went to the south east along the shore of Sawanee; where they joined the banditti under Bowlegs, and now compose part of those negroes who, together with the barbarous Seminolians, have been robbing and murdering the frontier inhabitants both of Georgia and Florida indiscriminately, and are still continuing it. These are the main enemies the people of Florida have to fear, and against them they desire assistance. This is the grand cause which impedes their growth and hinders them from becoming independent. The Indians are incorrigible in their cruelties. They are naturally enemies to a civilized state of society, as it destroys their independence. They resemble wolves, who would rather be exterminated than domesticated.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE MOVE TO ST. AUGUSTINE

Our good fortune in going "home" to St. Augustine, with the offer of a long-time home there in the Alcazar hotel building, was told of in the last issue of the *Quarterly*. Mr. Watt Marchman, our librarian, has been renovating the new quarters and is now moving the Society in. He will be ready there to receive us before this number reaches the members. Why not make an effort to spend part of a day or longer there soon. In addition to a pleasant time in that interesting town, you are sure to gain a greater interest in the history of our State, so will you not be a bit richer the rest of your days. Your visit will be an encouragement to Mr. Marchman, Mr. John G. McKay, chairman, and others of the Society who have put this over notwithstanding its difficulties, and it will be your expression of appreciation to the many members who have contributed so generously towards the making of our new home.

Fifty-six of these contributors were mentioned in the last *Quarterly*; and the response has been continuous since, with these additional donations (to September 10):

Kathryn T. Abbey, Tallahassee	\$ 5.00
W. G. Allen, Tampa	5.00
John W. Alvord, Winter Park	10.00
Robert H. Anderson, Miami	5.00
C. B. Arbogast, Stuart	3.00
Most Reverend Patrick Barry, St. Augustine	10.00
Mrs. W. S. Barstow, Hobe Sound	250.00
Mrs. John B. Beach, West Palm Beach	2.00
Esther Bearss, Washington, D. C.	2.00
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Mrs. T. O. Wilson, Miami	5.00
Mrs. J. W. Woodward, Quincy	1.00

To which is to be added when paid \$127.00 of the pledges of St. Augustine members, making a total on September 10 of \$1,505.00.

* * *

In moving from Jacksonville the library will lose the services of Mrs. Virginia Davis of the State-wide Library Project, Works Progress Administration, under whose care its usefulness was much increased by regular hours of attendance and aid in research for visitors. Through soliciting gifts and by donations of her own, much historical material was added to our collections, and by rearranging our museum pieces they were exhibited to better advantage. The Society is grateful for all.

We are grateful also for the assistance of Mrs. Mildred Hyatt of the Library Project in Winter Park, whose aid has enabled Mr. Marchman to accomplish so much, especially in the successful collection of the library removal fund. In addition she has added to the library by copying numerous rare documents and much otherwise unobtainable historical material.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ARCHEOLOGY

By W. J. WINTER, Chairman

[The Board of Directors last year authorized President Hanna to organize a committee on archeology, and Dr. Winter, an experienced archeologist, was appointed chairman. His graduate work was done at the University of Chicago, and during the past three years, as Archeologist and Assistant Director of Research for the St. Augustine Historical Program of Carnegie Institution of Washington, he has surveyed in a general way the archeological research possibilities of Florida. The other members of the committee are: D. Graham Copeland, Francis B. Crowninshield, Dr. A. R. L. Dohme, W. B. Goodwin, R. R. Otis, Mrs. Doris Stone, and Mrs. Millar Wilson. The report of the committee shows that a foundation has been laid for this important development of the Society's work. It is being financed through Contributing Memberships secured by Professor Hanna who is assisting the committee in other ways also. Included in this report is a paper read at a recent meeting of the Society by Mrs. Stone of the Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University. Ed.]

The Field - Florida possesses a wealth of archeological sites and material consisting of prehistoric shell and sand mounds, and aboriginal camp and village sites all over the State.

Investigations thus far, principally by Clarence B. Moore of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, representatives of the Smithsonian Institution and the St. Augustine Historical Program, have brought to light rich stores of ancient Indian pottery, stone, bone and wood artifacts, skeletal material and occasional metal ornaments. Some of this has been material that any museum would welcome; all is valuable for study purposes.

Fortunately, at least one mound, the huge Turtle Mound near New Smyrna, has been purchased for preservation and study. Often mounds have been torn up to secure road-building material and much has been destroyed or carried away by souvenir hunters. Incalculable scientific information has been lost as a result of this neglect and destruction.

Florida has no State archeologist. No college or university in Florida maintains a department of

archeology or anthropology. Its historical organizations have been but little concerned with the aboriginal cultures and the prehistoric inhabitants. Many states with inferior archeological resources maintain departments for the study and dissemination of information regarding the ancient life of their areas.

Literature - A preliminary check-list of publications on Florida archeology and their library locations is being compiled by Mr. Wyndham Hayward of Winter Park in cooperation with the Union Catalog of Floridiana, Mr. Hayward says:

"There are few books that give a full treatment of any phase of archeology in Florida, most of the material being scattered in reports of scientific institutions, or in occasional pamphlets, odd papers and rare and out-of-print volumes of many types. It may take a number of years before a representative showing of entries covering the wide ramifications of the field may be compiled, so scattered is the literature of the subject. However the fundamental sources are well known to the specialist, and the recording of the major items will be a helpful beginning. We would be grateful to any members of the Society for information regarding any published paper, treatise, text or book containing mention or extended reference to Florida archeology, ethnology, pre-history, in English or any foreign language, for checking with the material in hand."

Policy - 1. To arouse interest and stimulate responsibility in the preservation of archeological remains in Florida.

2. To develop studies in and disseminate information about Florida archeology.

3. To encourage the establishment of a department of anthropology (which includes archeology) in one of the colleges or universities of Florida.

Program

1. Cooperate with Mr. Hayward in the listing and location of bibliographical items on Florida archeology.

2. Build up a comprehensive collection of archeological publications in the library of the Society and encourage collections in other libraries and museums of the State.

3. Invite those interested to contribute through the Society to our library, and for surveys, expeditions, etc.

4. Disseminate information about the preservation of archeological remains for scientific investigation.

At the suggestion of Dr. A. H. R. Dohme, the regional meeting of the Society on February 9 at the Mountain Lake Club, Lake Wales, was given over to a consideration of Florida archeology. Mr. John B. Stetson, Jr., presided, and Mrs. Doris Stone gave a lecture illustrated with slides in continuation of her paper, the Relationship of Florida Archeology to that of Middle America, published in the *Quarterly* the issue of January 1939. (The former will follow in the present issue).

Field Work

This consisted in the preparation of a map showing in detail the archeological features of the last untouched, unspoiled part of Fort George Island at the mouth of the St. Johns River. This area of 75 acres has been preserved in its natural state by Mrs. Millar Wilson of Jacksonville until last year when she presented the tract to Rollins College for a bird sanctuary and wild life refuge. It contains valuable archeological features in the form of Indian mounds, most of which have never been excavated. With such possibilities for research, a contour map was desirable, showing the size and shape of these

mounds and their exact locations. Such a map is the first step in scientific investigation, and it is of value otherwise.

The map has been produced by Mr. Rogers Johnson, engineer and surveyor of St. Augustine, formerly on the staff of Carnegie Institution of Washington, who has had much experience in mapping archeological areas. In addition, Mr. Johnson is giving us a tracing from which blueprints can be made, and has generously offered to give us a hachure map of the same area which will show the locations of mounds, trails, and structures, without the contour lines.

The budget for this project, amounting to \$125 has been made possible through Contributing Memberships designated for this purpose.

MEXICAN RESEMBLANCES IN THE SOUTHEASTERN AREA OF THE UNITED STATES

By Doris Stone

The Indians who have inhabited this region belong to various groups, some of which have migrated hither in historical times (as the Shawnee). The most important are the Muskogian tribes, of which the Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole, and Natchez are members. However, we find isolated tribes belonging to the large northern and eastern groups of Iroquois and Algonquin Indians, as well as Siouan from the Great Plains, and several less important peoples who came into this area from the Ohio valley. So the southeast is a fairly varied and complex territory and we do not know who were

Note.—This paper was read, with slides, at the district meeting of the Florida Historical Society on Feb. 9 last, at Lake Wales. It supplements a paper which Mrs. Stone read before the annual meeting of the Society in 1938, and which was published in the *Quarterly*, the issue of January, 1939.

the oldest-that is, the really underlying-peoples in this region. This is true particularly in Florida where a host of outside influences are evident.

But there is at least one dominant feature in the southeastern area: the resemblance of certain traits in that sector to those found in the country we now know as Mexico. These association traits, as a whole, do not belong to any single group among the higher nations of Mexico. They appear to have their roots in what usually is considered three distinct cultures : Playa de los Muertos, "Q", and figurines practically identical with those from the Archaic period, as well as figurines which resemble later Mexican pieces, are found in the greater part of the southeastern area-and, in particular, in Florida. Here, both human and animal figures appear, while even among the historical Indians there was the masculine custom of wearing a turban-like headdress made of bark cloth. This is characteristic of Archaic figurines, and might be a carry-over from the original fashion portrayed by these pieces.

The Maya, whose civilization was on the decline at the time of the Spanish arrival in the New World, have a host of culture traits many of which we find picked up by the Archaic, and to continue in two of the higher groups, the Maya and the Aztec. A number of these traits seem somehow to have reached the southeastern area.

The Aztec, a Nahua-speaking tribe, originally were a nomadic, warrior people, who pushed their way into the Valley of Mexico quite late, historically speaking, and absorbed what they could of the already-deteriorating Maya culture. After the Nahua conquest, and the subsequent settling into a sedentary life, the roaming tendency of the Aztec appears to have found an outlet in their intense activity as

itinerant traders. Nahua merchants formed an important league which traversed, and in part economically conquered for the Nahua people, almost all of Central America; and, as we shall see presently, may have been responsible on the other hand for a northeastern migration or diffusion of late Mexican culture traits.

This is a background for an examination of some of the outstanding elements of southeast culture which do not appear to have their roots in any part of the territory of the United States.

Among the historical Indians of the southeast there was the use of the feathered cloak, decidedly a Maya (and, later, an Aztec) habit, and the practice of human sacrifice as is evidenced among the Natchez. Human sacrifice, of course, is an outstanding feature of Aztec religion.

Probably the foremost example of "foreign" or Mexican influence which goes also into the field of archaeology, is the presence of pyramidal mounds, which continued in use among the historical Muskogian tribes. Usually the pyramidal mounds in the southeast supported a temple or a chieftain's house, but occasionally they contained, in addition to this, infant burials beneath the top floor-level. A very Mexican feature of these mounds (see the Etowah group) is that generally they are built around a plaza, with one or two dominating the whole group. This arrangement of mounds around courts was carried out not only by the Muskogians, but also by an earlier people whose identity is unknown, the builders of the Marcos Key site in southwestern Florida (Charlotte Harbor, Pine Island Sound, Caloosa Bay). The excavation of this site by Cushing brought to light both Mexican and Antillean relationships. The outstanding Mexican artifacts from Marcos Key were the two-fingered *atlatl* or throw-

ing-stick, bird and animal effigy masks, and wooden clubs. These last bear a close resemblance both to Aztec clubs and to those on certain copper plates from the Etowah mounds in Georgia. This whole Georgian group has decided Mexican characteristics.

I noted in my talk before this body two years ago the striking similarity pointed out by Zelia Nuttall between the copper ornaments from here and Mexican copper work. These finds included also long ceremonial flints, monolithic stone and copper axes, human effigy vessels, and interesting decorated shells. All of these artifacts show Mexican and Middle American relationships.

Artificial flattening of the frontal portion of skulls was prevalent among the historical Muskogians, and is found in ancient graves in Florida, Mississippi, and Alabama. This was a common Mexican practice. This deformation, which is very Maya, applied not only to actual human skulls but also to clay figurines; which is, again, a Mexican characteristic.

Decorated shells with strong Mexican influences appear in southern Mississippi and in Florida. Incised bone, though not so common as shell, is another Mexican trait. In this southeastern section both decorated shell and bone have also been found.

Although the use of stone is limited in the southeast, nevertheless there are carved stone pipes, often made in animal form, and occasionally in human shape, a few sculptured heads, and carved serpent images, all of which suggest Mexican affiliations.

The pottery of the southeast offers strong Mexican ties. Throughout this section, pots with attached animal or human features, funnel-necked jars, tripod vessels, and spouted vessels are prevalent. All are evidence of a spread of the "Q" and Playa de los Muertos complexes. Recent work

by Holder and others around Lake Pontchartrain near New Orleans has shown that tetrapodal wedge-leg and mammiform vessel supports appear in the earliest horizons from that area.

At Moundville, Alabama, a complex of Mexican traits has been pointed out. From this site, alone, come objects showing men with masks resembling Aztec codex figures, pottery decorated with the hand symbol (a Maya-Aztec feature), and death heads (mostly associated with the Aztec) ; there are even flint knives. *

There are, then, all through the southeast, certain definitely Mexican traits both in the customs of the historical Indians and in the artifacts of pre-history, both of which (*i.e.*, the historical and the archaeological) point to a complicated beginning. Naturally, there have been numerous theories as to the origin of the peoples responsible for these influences.

It seems to the writer, however, that there must have been two distinct culture pushes into the southeast as well as two avenues of approach,

One route undoubtedly was by water, both directly from the Mexican region following the Gulf coastline, and via Cuba over to Florida in large trading canoes. Objects from Marcos Key, and occasional examples of obsidian artifacts generally found on river borders near the Gulf, help to support such a theory.

The other avenue was the equally plausible route overland, up through the southwest Mississippi drainage area to the eastern sea.

The first culture push may have come from the people responsible for the Playa de los Muertos, "Q", and Archaic cultures. These people were

* Obsidian knives, for example, have been reported by Dr. J. C. Gifford of the University of Miami, as coming from Key Largo, Fla. They have also been found by the writer in a mound on Wall River, Miss.

among the oldest in Central America and Mexico, and may have extended as a contemporaneous unit into Peru and the Mississippi valley, including portions of the southeastern area. Indeed it may well be that the Maya are an outgrowth of one of these people. Later, with the rise of the Nahua-speaking tribes, other traits appeared. These may have been the result of direct migration, such as has been suggested by Zelia Nuttall with regard to the Eto-wah mounds, or they may have been the result of trading routes, such as outlined above. And there is, of course, a possibility of both the trade-routes and a migration being responsible for many of these influences connected with the later cultures.

In the southeast, then, is an early culture type which extends over parts of Middle America into Peru. It is this group which conceivably is the ancestor of the Maya. Later influences from Mexico came either as the result of migration or trade, or as a combination of the two.

Nahua-speaking people most probably were responsible for this later cultural push, as is evidenced by the close resemblances to Aztec traits.

However, we must remember that no evidence based (as all archaeology and most ethnology must be based) on logic is either conclusive or irrefutable. The object of the present paper has been to point out what its title implies, Mexican resemblances in the southeastern area of the United States; and perhaps to suggest that the proof should come, eventually, as a result of intensive work by archaeologists in all the cultures of the southeastern region.

* * *

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

The organization and activities of this Association were described in the last number of the Quarterly. Mr. Gaines R. Wilson, secretary, announces

that the first meeting of the season will be held at the University of Miami on the evening of November 12, when a program of papers will be presented. Shortly after the first of the year the *Journal*, their first annual publication, will appear, with Professor Lewis Leary of the University of Miami as editor.

It is on invitation of the Association that the next annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held in Miami, with Mr. John G. McKay, a director of the Association and our vice president, as chairman of the local committee. Tentative dates are March 27-29, and detailed plans will be included in the January issue of the *Quarterly*. Meanwhile our members might well be making their own plans for a visit to Miami next March, for another such meeting as that held in Quincy and Tallahassee this year is assured.

* * *

JOHN INNERARITY'S LETTER OF JULY 27, 1813

Dr. George Petrie, Dean of the Graduate School at Auburn (and dean of Southern teachers of history), writes in appreciation of the letter of John Innerarity published in the April number of the *Quarterly*: "The letter in regard to the visit of the Indians to Pensacola just before the Creek War is extremely valuable. I do not know of any other material that gives so vivid and so authoritative an insight into the situation at that time."

* * *

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON

At its last meeting, the Hispanic-American Conference adopted this minute: "The Hispanic-American Conference wishes to record, individually and as a body, its sincere appreciation of the life-long service of Dr. James Alexander Robertson in advancing scholarly effort in the field of Hispanic

American history and culture. He participated in the founding of the Conference and his continued activities, year after year, gave a purpose and a consistent policy to the group that did much to maintain its usefulness as a supplemental factor in the general work of the American Historical Association and in the especial field represented by the *Hispanic American Historical Review*. In these twin functions his presence will be missed, but his contribution will prove of permanent value."

* * *

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Miss Margaret Fairlie is a public school teacher of Jacksonville and has written a school history of Florida.

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T. Frederick Davis has written *A History of Jacksonville*, *Ponce de Leon's Voyages to Florida* etc.

Mrs. Doris Stone is of the Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.